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## *Excavations near Antioch in 1936*

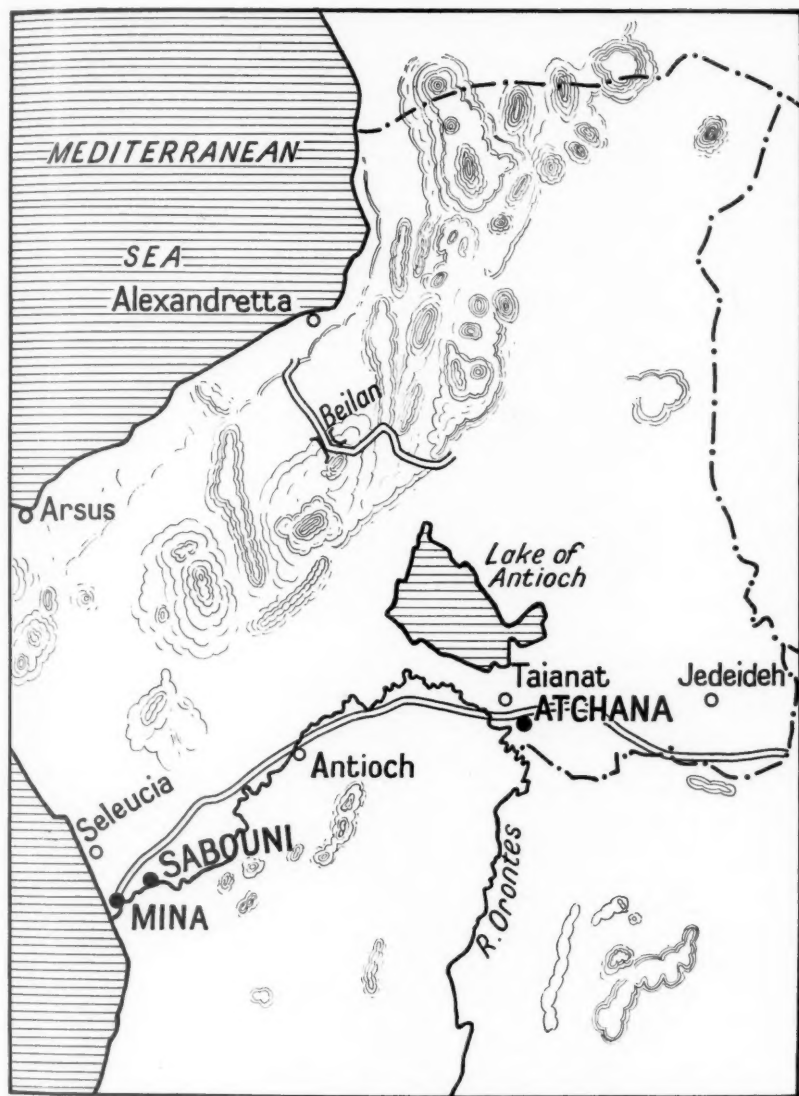
By Sir LEONARD WOOLLEY

[Read 22nd October 1936]

IN the spring of 1935 I was sent by the Trustees of the British Museum to North Syria to look for a site for excavation. The object which I had in view was to trace the connexions, if such existed, between the civilization of Minoan Crete and that of the Asiatic mainland, and the conditions required by such theoretical intercourse limited my investigations to a relatively small area. Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean remains are, of course, not uncommon in South Syria and Palestine, but no excavations there have produced anything of Minoan date. If commerce brought the Cretans to this coast, the influence resulting from it must have been largely one-sided, for Palestine was always a poor country culturally speaking, and South Syria offered no more than a local market; its civilization was confined to the coastal belt, and the hinterland of the Syrian desert cut off all direct intercourse with the great centres of the East. North Syria was clearly indicated: it was the part of the coast most easily reached by coasting-vessels (Mount Casius is visible from Cyprus), and it was the meeting-place of the Hittite and Mesopotamian civilizations, either or both of which might have had Aegean contacts. Here again the choice was limited. Commerce demands a sheltered anchorage for shipping and good trade-routes to the inland markets. In North Syria the coast is formed by a range of mountains whose flanks drop for the most part precipitously to the sea; harbours are small and few, and passes across the mountain ranges are extraordinarily difficult; in fact, only two are at all practicable. In the extreme north the Gulf

of Alexandretta affords good shelter in most weathers, as an open roadstead, and at its southern end at Arsus there is a little rocky harbour which has been artificially enlarged and improved. Arsus is certainly an ancient site, though so deeply overlaid by Roman remains as to give little encouragement to the excavator; but from it the only road inland was by the steep and none too easy pass of Beilan, and to reach that one had to skirt the foothills for a distance of some twenty-five miles, for the flat land bordering the gulf is of recent formation and contains no remains earlier than the Roman. South of the gulf is the forbidding headland of Ras al Khanzir and the cliffs of Gebel Musa, and then comes the shallow arc of the gulf of Sueidia, with the ruins of Seleucia at its northern end, the Orontes mouth towards its southern end, and beyond that the rock-bound coast at the foot of Mount Casius. The only other harbour between this and Latakia, or rather between this and Mina-t-al-Beda, the Leukos Hormos of the Greeks, is Basit, and from Basit, whose remains seem to be exclusively Roman, a break-neck track alone leads up into the wild fastnesses of the hills.

The Sueidia area was the one place which combined all the advantages sought by the early trader. The mouth of the Orontes affords a safe and sheltered anchorage where ships can tie up alongside the wharves; the river itself was navigable as far inland as the site of Antioch; from the port a road ran inland, up the river valley, following for the most part the river and elsewhere passing through open rolling country, and it debouched on the great Amk plain through which the Orontes winds. A level pass through the hills bordering the plain on the east led on to Aleppo, and thence the caravan-route went past Carchemish to Nineveh or down the Euphrates to Babylon; there was no desert, but a well-watered road through the fertile crescent gave direct communication with the centres of Babylonian culture. Nor was this all. The Amk plain is strewn with mounds, the ruins of a hundred ancient cities; it must have been densely inhabited and very rich, and for over-sea traders using the Sueidia harbour it gave an interim market of the greatest value. At this harbour then, and along this road, material evidence for intercourse between Asia and the Aegean would be found, if such were to be found at all. One other consideration influenced the choice of sites. The mountain range which borders the coast was in antiquity thickly wooded; nowhere in it has there yet been found any trace of ancient culture; there are no 'tells' and no ruins older than the Roman, and it is curious to observe that while the Amk plain is strewn with



Outline map of north-west Syria showing excavation sites



Examples of Byzantine glazed pottery from Level I



mounds, these stop abruptly at the first rise of the foothills. It is clear that civilization never penetrated into the forests, whose inhabitants must have been huntsmen, wood-cutters, and perhaps miners (for copper is plentiful and gold is to be found)—wild men who had no use for cities, and their scattered huts would leave no vestige behind. The merchant caravans had to fear not only the natural difficulties of the roads, but also the savagery of the mountain people, and the shorter and the more open the way the safer it would be; from this point of view, too, the Orontes route was incomparably the best.

But the existence of this barrier between the coast and the plain complicated the problem which we had in hand. The harbour towns were isolated from the inland cities which they served, and were really in closer touch, by sea, with the Aegean islands than with the Asiatic inland, reached only by mountain-passes through barbarous tribes. Excavation had shown that Ras Shamra was to all intents and purposes a Mycenaean settlement, and what was true of Ras Shamra with its open though restricted hinterland was likely to be yet more true of a town cut off by the whole Amanus range; it would have been a clearing-house in which the influence of one end of the commercial chain might well have preponderated unduly. Therefore, if a true idea of the character of that commerce were to be obtained, it would be necessary to examine both the harbour, in which the Greek influence would be, *ex hypothesi*, easy to recognize, and one of the inland towns served by the harbour, where the native styles would naturally prevail but the imported elements might still be traced.

Immediately on my arrival in North Syria I received unexpected encouragement. Mr. Calvin W. MacEwan, field director of the Oriental Institute of Chicago's expedition in the Amk plain, kindly let me examine the objects resulting from their three years of work. Amongst the potsherds found in a *sondage* on Tchakaltepe, a mound on the eastern edge of the Amk, there were two which showed unmistakable affinities with Minoan Crete: the theory of intercourse between Asia and the Aegean in Minoan times was supported by material evidence.

Working in close collaboration with M. Claude Prost, Inspector of Antiquities for the Sandjak of Alexandretta, whose death last summer was a grievous blow to archaeology in Syria, I visited and examined some forty mounds and finally selected for immediate excavation a small and insignificant mound at the mouth of the Orontes, called Tal Sheikh Yusuf after an Alouite saint whose cenotaph crowns its highest point, and three

tells in the Amk plain, all lying close to the road where that debouches from the hills. The Department of Antiquities of the Haut Commissariat, to whose courtesy and readiness to help in every way I am greatly indebted, gave me a permit for the excavation of the Sheikh Yusuf site and for making *sondages* on the other three; an expedition was planned for 1936.

To my regret, however, the Trustees of the British Museum found themselves unable to undertake the financial commitments of a new expedition. The scheme would have been postponed indefinitely, or dropped altogether, had not Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm come forward and sponsored a fund which should finance the work under the aegis and in the interest of the Trustees; the Ashmolean Museum and Sir Arthur Evans joined in, and the British Museum, though not able to make any direct contribution, lent the invaluable services of Mr. F. N. Pryce. My wife was as usual a member of the field staff, with special responsibility for the drawings of pottery, etc., and Mr. P. D. Murray-Threipland, who had worked with us at Ur, came as general archaeological assistant. The expedition started work towards the end of March and continued until nearly the end of June. From Syria I had with me Hamoudi and his two sons, Yahia and Alawi, of whom the former did the photography; a few old workmen from Carchemish made the nucleus of the working-party, and local labourers to the number of about 180 were enrolled, and proved excellent. Most of our time was spent in the excavation of the Sheikh Yusuf site, and it is with this that my report will deal in the main. Ten days' work was given to *sondages* at Tal Atchana, the most promising of the three selected in the Amk; a full report on that is published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and will here be described but briefly.

Tal Sheikh Yusuf rises only about four metres above the alluvial plain at the Orontes mouth. Much of it, probably the greater and certainly the earlier part, that nearest to the river, has been eroded and swept out to sea by the Orontes, which a century and a half ago shifted its bed and flowed against the mound, whose sheer NE. face preserves the aspect of a river bank; according to local legend the residue of the mound was only saved from destruction by the miraculous powers of Sheikh Yusuf, who intervened to save his threatened cenotaph. On the SW. side are gardens and cottages, to the south of it the buildings, such as they are, of al Mina, the modern port; the higher part of the mound, for which we had obtained a concession, was agricultural land.

Ten levels were found, the lowest resting on virgin soil. The top level had been destroyed by denudation and by the plough; a few meaningless fragments of walls survived, but nothing that could be called a ground-plan; the objects were either loose in the upper soil or were in the numerous rubbish-pits which had been dug down through the lower strata. Coins were plentiful and gave a fairly consecutive series starting with Elagabalus and ending with the crusading coins of Bohemond IV, Duke of Antioch, so that this denuded stratum represented nearly nine centuries of occupation. In the Crusading period the little harbour was known as the Port de St. Simeon after St. Simon Stylites the Younger, whose ruined church crowns a neighbouring hill; before that time it had been used by the Arabs and Byzantines, but under what name we do not know. From the rubbish-pits there were recovered some fine examples of Byzantine glazed pottery (pl. II), the best of which has painted on it a composite animal which may be meant for one of the beasts of the Apocalypse; another very interesting piece is a small white bowl which is an exact imitation of a Chinese bowl of the T'ang Dynasty. In unglazed pottery there were examples of the moulded ware with delicate patterns in low relief which was in vogue as late as the twelfth century A.D., and a good many with incised ornament; it was unfortunate that there was no means of dating the rubbish-pits with any approach to accuracy, and our discoveries, unexpectedly rich in themselves, did not further the little-known chronology of Byzantine and Arab ceramics. In glass there were innumerable examples of little cups with very long and slender tubular spouts, and a fair number of moulded fragments with crude figures of birds and animals, a few examples of cut glass and vast quantities of plain blown-glass vessels, bottles, etc., almost all in fragments.

The second level was dated by its pottery and coins between 375 and 320 B.C.; there was, therefore, a gap in the continuous history of the site which begins with the foundation of the port of Seleucia, four miles to the north, and ends with the decay of that city due to the overthrow of its buildings by earthquakes (in A.D. 526) and the silting up of its artificial harbour basin. It is natural enough that all business should have been deflected to the splendid Seleucid city, and that it was so deflected is certain. At Tal Sheikh Yusuf the coins of Alexander are very numerous, but only a single (early) Seleucid coin was recorded; the pottery of level 2 is almost exclusively of the second half of the fourth century B.C., only a single sherd of definitely Hellenistic type being found in the whole course of the

excavations. The effect of the new port's rivalry was instantaneous.<sup>1</sup>

The buildings of level 2 were, on the whole, but a new edition of those of level 3, which had been destroyed by fire, and of the two level 3 was the better preserved (see the ground-plan, pl. III); it flourished from c. 430 to 375 B.C. In each case what we had was an agglomeration of commercial warehouses and shops, the business premises of merchants engaged in the import and export trade; they were separated by narrow streets, usually at right angles to each other, some with covered stone drains running down them; they had no architectural pretensions, but were simple structures with rubble foundations and walls of mud brick, occasionally plastered and whitewashed but more often plain. The floors—especially in level 2—were sometimes of cement, but more often of clay which in some cases was laid over a bed of small stone rubble; ashlar stone was seldom used except in the jambs of doors or in the external angles of buildings. One building in level 2 had a small alcove built of burnt bricks and cut stone plastered with cement and paved with burnt bricks, but that was the unique example of 'good' building.

While the ground-plans of the various *insulae* showed that none was intended for residential purposes, the objects found in the ruins left no doubt as to their use. In both levels, but more particularly in level 3, where the wreckage of the fire had been left almost undisturbed, there was an astonishing mass of pottery, and the pottery types were not distributed at random but were grouped individually in the several magazines. Thus in one room there would be tall wine-jars with pointed bases, and in another big jars of a more full-bellied shape; in another there would be lamps, imported or local, of clay or metal; in another Attic gutti, in another Attic aryballi, in another lecythi of local make: the goods had been stored either for export or as they were taken from the holds of the incoming ships. It was even possible to say that in certain cases we were dealing with definite consignments sent from single factories, as when in one room there were found upwards of a dozen aryballi all bearing the same ornament, the output of one workshop if not of one workman (pl. v, 1). All the imported wares were Attic,

<sup>1</sup> The desertion of the al Mina site was so sudden and so complete that it may well have been the result of an enforced migration of the inhabitants to the new city. It is perhaps significant that one of the two chief gods of Seleucia was Zeus Kasios, who would naturally have been the god of al Mina, but would seem out of place in Seleucia seeing that the city lies at the foot of Gebel Musa, the rival mountain.



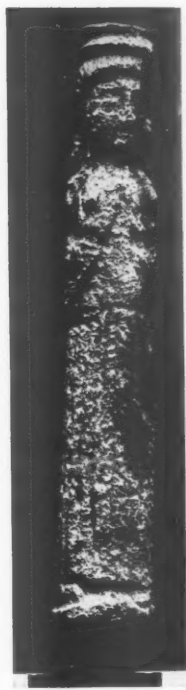
2. Locally made lecythi *in situ*. Level 3



1. Marble head of Antiocheia (?). Level 2



1. Attic aryballi



2. Greek bone statuette  
*circa 550 B.C.*



and it was evident that throughout this period Athens held a monopoly. There were great numbers of coins, and they too were almost exclusively Attic, only some of the smaller denominations being from the mints of Sidon, Aradus or other Syrian coast towns, though some seemingly Attic coins are local imitations. The local pottery shows the strength of the Greek influence, for the shapes are in all cases based on those of Greece. Sometimes we have a remarkably close imitation, as in the case of a fine columned krater (pl. vi, 1), but even the Syrian lecythi, large and small, are clearly derived from Greek originals, though the decoration, which is usually of the most simple sort, when it is at all elaborated has a freedom in the drawing of plant forms which marks a departure from classical tradition. The Syrian lecythi were found heaped together in groups of several hundreds at a time (pl. iv, 2); and the fact that many of them had been heavily burned and that the groups were enclosed within clay partitions which were reddened and hardened by fire, at first suggested that these were kilns, and the lecythi were being manufactured on the spot, but a closer examination proved that the heat was due to the burning of the oil which the lecythi had contained; the oil-bottles had been stored in bins ready for export. That the trade was not confined to pottery and oil was shown by the finding in one building of a small quantity of jewellery, silver and electrum beads, fibulae, etc., and silver ingots; lead ingots both large and small were found, and in one place a deposit of mercury.<sup>1</sup> There were numbers of weights, including a fine series of bronze weights of different sizes, and in levels 3 and 4 many amulets and similar small objects in polychrome glass and some 'Phoenician' polychrome glass vases; amulets in glazed frit of Egyptian type, figurines of Bes and the like, were more likely to have been of Phoenician make than imports from Egypt. Scaraboids and other stamp seals in glaze and glass were fairly common, and that these were objects of trade and not things in actual use dropped here by accident was proved by our finding small hoards of such, in one instance fifteen scarabs all together; and the same was true of the fibulae, which were very numerous. The personal character of some classes of objects found is no argument against the purely commercial nature of the site.

<sup>1</sup> The mercury was in liquid metallic form. Cinnabar does not seem to be known in this part of Asia, and the metal may have been imported, probably from the great Almaden mines of Spain, for the extraction of gold, which is found in the Melas valley close to our site. I am indebted to Lord Rayleigh for this suggestion.

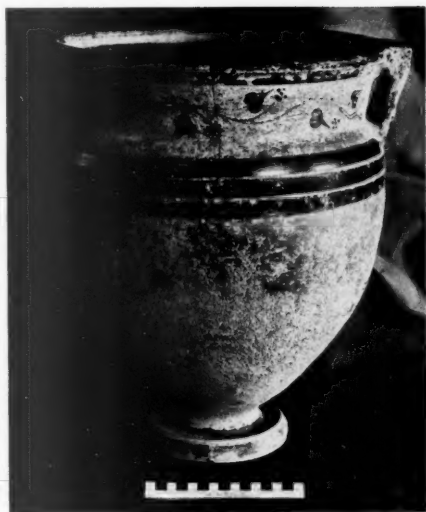


Level 4, while it differed somewhat in the details of ground-plan from level 3, was in fact but an earlier version of it. It is dated between 520 and 430 B.C., and between it and level 3 there is no breach of continuity; the business is wholly with Athens, and apart from a Cypriote stone figure of a 'temple boy' and one or two other small Cypriote stone fragments, no Greek centre other than Athens is represented. It is curious to learn that throughout the whole period of the Persian wars this Syrian port, under Persian control, was actively engaged in commerce between the two warring countries; but the fact remains, and in level 4, as in levels 3 and 2, the trade was emphatically a luxury trade and the goods imported were of the highest quality. The fire which destroyed the magazines of level 3 has preserved a representative set of such goods as happened to be in store at a certain moment; and for the rest of the long period represented by the three levels we have to rely on the evidence of vessels which had been broken and thrown away,<sup>1</sup> but the fragments prove the fine quality of the articles in demand in Syria. Much of the earlier red-figured ware is extremely good, and some pieces can be attributed to known masters; and from the severe drawing of the krater fragment figured on pl. VII, 2 down to an unusually elaborate vase of the 'Kertch' type, which Professor Beazley considers the finest of its type known (pl. VI, 2), we have a series representing Attic vase-painting at its best.

Of the earliest red-figured and of black-figured ware there is very little indeed. So far as the evidence of the Sheikh Yusuf site goes at present, we might conclude that towards the close of the sixth century B.C. there was an interruption of foreign trade, or that the Athenian manufacturers had not yet realized the importance of the Syrian market; but the gap, which is a marked one, is more probably due to the accidents of discovery in a limited area. At Sabouni, close by, sherds of black-figured ware of good quality were found; and as Sabouni was certainly served by the al Mina harbour, the break of continuity apparent on the latter site would seem to be misleading. Level 5 ends about 550 B.C., but in another part of the site the gap between 550 and 520 may very likely be made good.

Levels 5 and 6 (see the ground-plan, pl. IX) are successive phases of a single period, distinguished by the rebuilding (not

<sup>1</sup> As a rule only isolated fragments, or at most two or three pieces of any one vessel were found, and then these two or three probably fitted together and had been broken after the dispersion of the remainder of the vase; we really found those fragments which had been overlooked when the bulk was carried off to be thrown on the rubbish-dumps.



1. Column krater of local fabric. Levels 2-3



2. Fragment of a red-figure Attic vase of the 'Kertch' type. Levels 3-4



1. Fragments of an Attic skyphos of c. 420 B.C. Level 3



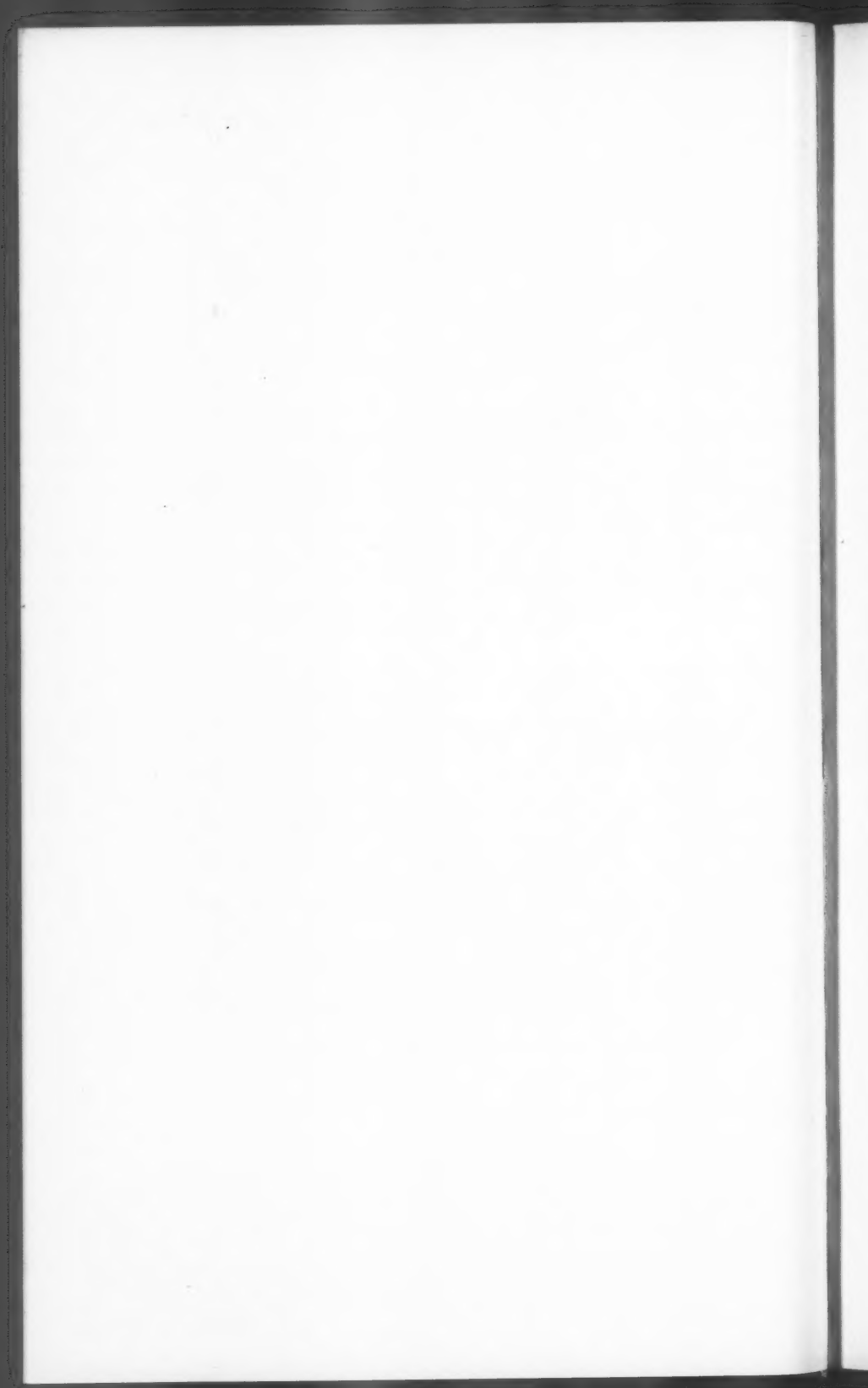
2. Fragments from the rim of an amphora by the Syleus painter  
c. 480 B.C. Level 4



1. Attic black-figure skyphos. Level 4



2. Jugs of Rhodian geometric ware. Levels 5-6



everywhere contemporary) of the various warehouses; the buildings are not the same in plan or in arrangement as those in the upper levels, but their character is identical, and again we have to deal with the magazines of importing merchants. The period represented is the seventh and the first half of the sixth century and, in sharp contrast to what was to be the case later, foreign trade in that period was not with Athens but with the islands, and especially with Rhodes; there is a little Corinthian ware, and in the lower level much more proto-Corinthian, but the vast bulk is from the Aegean.

Two facts call for special comment. One is that now, as in later times, Syria was importing only goods of the highest grade from the Greek world, with the result that we have here a series of island pottery of as fine quality as any Greek site has yet produced. The general standard is astonishingly high, and individual pieces, such as the miniature illustrated on pl. xi, 1, have never been equalled elsewhere; the 'bird bowls' (pl. xi, 2), the Rhodian 'Orientalizing' fabrics, the amazingly delicate kylikes of black egg-shell pottery with red and white bands, the almost equally delicate bowls with concentric circles of red paint, are a striking testimony to the luxury character of the Syrian trade. And the second fact is that some at least of these wares were strangely at home on Asiatic soil. The geometric and 'bird' bowls of the islands have their parallels in vessels made in Syria, and while sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a vase is of local fabric or imported, in others the Syrian origin is manifest, and yet the art would seem original rather than imitative. It can safely be said that the link between certain of the island wares and those of the mainland was unexpectedly strong.

In level 6 there began to appear examples of Cypriote pottery, late pieces with the concentric circle decoration in red and black. In level 7, 700-650 B.C., the Cypriote and the sub-geometric wares were fairly balanced, but in level 8 the Cypriote ware was almost exclusively represented; there were indeed isolated pieces of sub-geometric from other island kilns, mostly Rhodian, but Cyprus had evidently a virtual monopoly of the trade. The buildings of these two levels were generally much ruined, and were not easy to distinguish; level 7 was a reconstruction of level 8 with but minor modifications, and one ground-plan (pl. x) sufficiently illustrates both. The period represented by them is that of the eighth and early seventh centuries B.C.

The bulk of the foreign pottery is of the usual Cypriote type with its endless iteration of horizontal bands and concentric circles: presumably most of the vessels were imported for the

sake of their contents rather than as objects of art; but they are good examples of their somewhat prosaic type. Side by side with them we have a few pieces which would on Cypriote soil be remarkable if not unique, such as the splendid polychrome bull vases on pl. xii, and in some cases it is hard to say whether vases are of Cypriote or of local Asiatic origin. The Iron Age pottery of Cyprus makes its appearance suddenly in the island; it has little connexion with any Bronze Age fabrics, and is certainly not descended from any of them. From the outset it exhibits a fully developed style, and since that style was not developed in Cyprus by any stages that can be traced to-day, the theory has often been put forward that it was introduced there ready-made from the Asiatic continent. The local distribution of the two characteristic systems of decoration—the concentric circle and the ‘metope’—between the northern and southern sides of the island,<sup>1</sup> and the fact that these two systems in Syria tend to occur in distinct cultural centres,<sup>2</sup> give colour to the suggestion that there was an invasion of Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age by two kindred but distinct tribes whose original home was probably in Asia Minor. The evidence of Tal Sheikh Yusuf is quite consistent with this in so far as it shows that the pottery of the mainland and of Cyprus is in many cases scarcely distinguishable, and the similarity of products is a strong argument for the relation of the makers; but here, as in Cyprus, the ware is not properly speaking at home; it makes its appearance suddenly and has no history of local development behind it. Whereas level 8 is, as has been said, almost exclusively Cypriote in character, in levels 9 and 10 no ‘Cypriote’ pottery whatsoever was found.

The remains of the two lowest strata were very scanty. The rough stone foundations of the buildings rested on virgin soil only just above sea-level; there was practically no rise of level during the period and it was only by difference of orientation that level 9 could be distinguished from level 10, and level 8 came almost immediately above, so that the period represented by them was probably but short. What was remarkable here was again the pottery, which considering the thinness of the stratum was relatively abundant; it was all of geometric or sub-geometric type, and while much of it was undoubtedly imported a good deal of it was as certainly of local origin. To the student

<sup>1</sup> See Einar Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, 1926, and *Cypriote Pottery* (Paris: Union académique internationale; Classification des céramiques antiques).

<sup>2</sup> See my article, ‘La Phénicie et les peuples égéens’, in *Syria*, ii (1921), 177 *et seq.*



of Aegean pottery these wares would be all familiar and indeed typical; those, on the other hand, whose interests are rather with the archaeology of the Near East would at once recognize analogies with the products of Asia. In this early period we seem once more to find evidence not merely of commercial intercourse, though that was current, but of cultural or even racial connexions between the inhabitants of the Aegean islands and those of the mainland.

With the geometric wares we arrive at virgin soil, and the history of the site ends so far as it is witnessed by last spring's excavations. But that it did end there is highly improbable. I have said that the mound has been eroded by the river; the whole of its north-eastern part has vanished, and how much that was it is impossible to say: quite probably what is left is but the outskirts of the ancient town. And being that quarter of it which was farthest from the river bank and from the wharves, it would naturally be the later; the original harbour buildings would have been on the bank itself, i.e. on the part of the mound which has now gone, and our storehouses on the low ground represent an expansion of the settlement in the tenth century and later. A single, small, locally made vessel of sub-Mycenaean form was the only bit of possible evidence obtained on the site for any earlier occupation of it, and that is not enough to substantiate a theory. But other evidence was forthcoming. Our attention was drawn by stories of sensational discoveries (stories for which there was probably little foundation in fact) to a small hill called Sabouni lying beside the Orontes about three miles up the valley from al Mina; the potsherds which littered its surface were interesting, and *sondages* were accordingly made in it towards the close of our season. The hill is natural, a flat-topped mass of very friable conglomerate whose sides, now gently terraced, were once precipitous; the disintegration of the rock had resulted in the destruction of everything on its summit, and in the burial of whatever may have been at its foot beneath an enormous mass of detritus. It was not at all a place calculated to repay excavation, but something of its history could be made out. The top of the rock had been enclosed by a massive wall of rubble and mud brick, and the rock face below had been artificially scarped, so that it formed an acropolis likely to be proof against any attack by a barbarian enemy. The potsherds formed a series running through red-figured and black-figured Attic ware, Rhodian, Cypriote, and geometric to the white 'milk-bowls' of the Cypriote Bronze Age and to Mycenaean; in other words the site repeats the record of Tal Sheikh Yusuf

but carries it a stage farther back in time.<sup>1</sup> No Cretan pottery was found at Sabouni, but our work there was so superficial that its absence cannot be taken as proof that there was none to be found.

The *sondages* at Tal Atchana brought to light, in the upper strata of the mound, the ruins of a large building constructed in mud brick so far as its internal walls were concerned, while its outer walls may have had as their lowest course orthostats of polished basalt, one of which, a block measuring 0.82 m. by 0.62 m., was found lying on the white cement floor of the building. In the filling between and above the walls were found Mycenaean potsherds, on the floor were fragments of painted vases of Middle Minoan III character; one vase in particular with a magnificent design of papyrus-plants and double axes, though shown by its clay to be of local manufacture, was in style not unworthy of Knossos itself. Some of the painted wares, even while they recalled those of Crete, presented analogies not less striking with the painted pottery of the sixteenth to fourteenth centuries B.C. found at Nuzi and at Tal Billah on the east side of the Tigris; and a very fine bronze sword found on the Minoan level is definitely of Asiatic type. Since this material and its implications are discussed elsewhere<sup>2</sup> I am concerned here only to point out that Atchana gives us precisely that intercourse between Minoan Crete and the interior of North Syria whose discovery was the prime object of our expedition; and that the intercourse can have been effected only *via* the Orontes valley and the harbour at the river's mouth. Although on the harbour site the evidence has been destroyed, yet what we have there links up with that of Sabouni and Atchana so exactly that the Minoan character of the port can scarcely be doubted.

The al Mina site was naturally chosen by the original settlers for its convenience as a harbour; apart from that it suffered from every disadvantage, for it lay on low ground, open to attack, and was probably none too healthy. The buildings found by us

<sup>1</sup> The parallel is even more close than the above facts suggest. Coins and pottery took us down to about the end of the fourth century B.C., and then there seemed to be a gap, but high up on the talus of rubbish fallen from the hill-side there were buildings of the Christian period, implying a fresh occupation of the site perhaps contemporary with that at Tal Sheikh Yusuf after the destruction of Seleucia. From a building of that age we obtained a set of five large copper vessels in a remarkable state of preservation, and a collection of iron agricultural tools which illustrate very well the methods of farming in North Syria in the Byzantine period.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lvi, 124.

were exclusively of a commercial nature; and although any argument based on partial evidence is dangerous, and the area excavated as yet is relatively small, I think we may conclude that while al Mina was the business quarter with its wharves and warehouses and, presumably, shelters and hostels for sailors, the merchants lived in the walled town of Sabouni where they could enjoy greater security and a more salubrious climate.<sup>1</sup> The two places should be regarded as one and in all likelihood shared a common name. This name I believe to have been Posidium.

Posidium has generally been identified with Basit. The identification rests on a wholesale and quite arbitrary emendation of all the figures in the itineraries, which are admittedly corrupt but could as justifiably be emended to suit any other site in the neighbourhood: the only safe deduction from them is that Posidium lay between Seleucia<sup>2</sup> and Latakia, and any closer identification must depend on external evidence. Priscian's mention of the 'towers of Posidium' and the description of it as a fortress, *φρούριον*, in the Gurob Papyrus would agree very well with the acropolis rock of Sabouni. Herodotus (iv, 90) mentions Posidium, which must therefore have been flourishing in the fourth century B.C., and he associates it with Amphiloehus, the pre-Homeric hero of the war of the Seven against Thebes, implying that according to local tradition at least it was a very ancient foundation. This would agree well with what we have learnt of the history of the al Mina site, whereas at Basit, as I have said above, no remains earlier than Roman have been seen, while its inaccessibility is such that it can never have been a harbour of any importance, at any rate not until its immediate hinterland of mountain and forest was redeemed for civilization, which was not until after the beginning of the Seleucid age. It is of course true that the material evidence from al Mina does not take us so far back in time as the Herodotus tradition would require, but I have shown that there is good reason for holding the evidence to be incomplete; actually the link between al Mina and Atchana is implicit in a local legend preserved by John Malalas which, as Sir Arthur Evans has pointed out, can hardly fail to refer to our site. According to that legend the Greek hero Kasios founded a settlement on the North Syrian

<sup>1</sup> For a parallel to this we need look no farther afield than Ras Shamra with its port of Mina-t-al Bada; or for that matter Athens and the Piraeus.

<sup>2</sup> *Υδάτων πόταμοι* is probably the name of the site of Seleucia, a name older than the town; it has been pointed out that the descriptive phrase does apply to the natural features of the place.

coast and peopled it with Cretans and Cypriotes; and having married a native princess called Amyke, he ruled the territory as king. Kasios's town must have been somewhere at the foot of the mountain which bears his name, and the only sea-side ruin below Mount Casius is that of Tal Sheikh Yusuf, where we have found the Cypriotes and suspect the Cretans. Amyke is derived from Am(u)k, the ancient as well as the modern name<sup>1</sup> of the rich inland plain where at Atchana we have found the Cretans. Tradition therefore knew of an ancient intercourse between Atchana with its neighbouring cities and the coastal area round Mount Casius, and between those two the Orontes valley is the only possible channel of communication. From at least as early as the seventeenth century B.C. until the death of Alexander the Great, trade between Asia and the Aegean used this route, and the port at the Orontes mouth was the junction for overland and oversea traffic.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of a harbour which throughout all Greek history acted as an open door between Greece and the older civilizations of Asia. An easy sea passage, for which the towering bulk of Mount Casius afforded just such a landmark as the timid mariners of Greece demanded, and a day's journey through the hills, brought the island trader into one of the richest centres of the Syro-Hittite culture;<sup>2</sup> thence the caravan road along the Fertile Crescent led to the Euphrates and to Mesopotamia. We have been accustomed to the assumption that those orientalizing influences which affected Greek art in its earlier stages came *via* Asia Minor and filtered through the Anatolian kingdoms, finding an outlet by the Ionian cities of the western coast. Now we find that there was in use all the time a trade-route which short-circuited the laborious Anatolian passage and brought the two countries into immediate contact: the discovery may well explain a good many difficulties in the history of Greek art, and may change our ideas on some points where no difficulties had been felt to exist.

The work of the expedition will be renewed in the spring of 1937, when we hope to undertake the serious excavation of tal Atchana and to finish the clearing of our concession at the al Mina site. The Society of Antiquaries of London has generously

<sup>1</sup> In this report I have used the spelling *Amk*; *Amuk* is equally common and is the form used on the French maps. In modern Arabic *Am(u)ki* means an inhabitant of the Amk.

<sup>2</sup> The character of the Amk towns is sufficiently proved by the discovery of Syro-Hittite reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions, e.g. at Taianat, the neighbouring tell to Atchana, and at Jedeideh on the eastern limits of the plain.



1. Fragment of vase showing the head of a bearded archer, miniature work; proto-Corinthian. Level 5



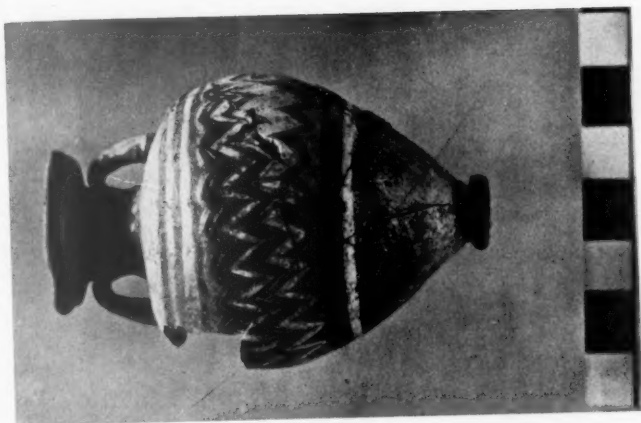
2. Group of Rhodian 'bird bowls', Ionian kylikes, etc. Levels 5 and 6



1. Krater of Cypriote type but probably not of Cypriote manufacture



2. Fragments from the shoulder of a Cypriote vase

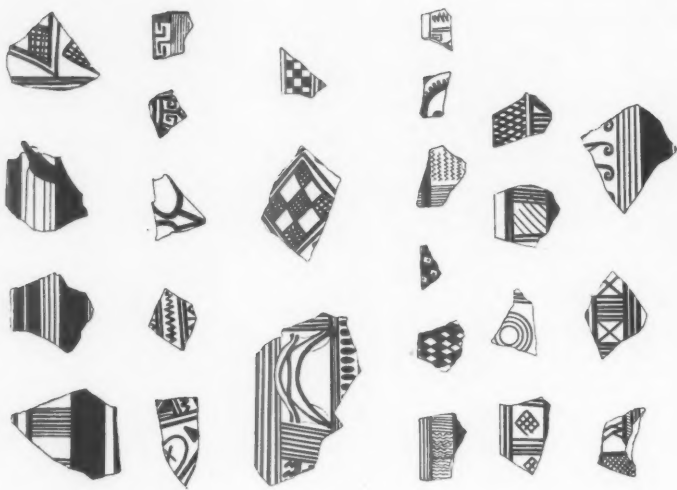


2. Bottle of Phoenician variegated glass

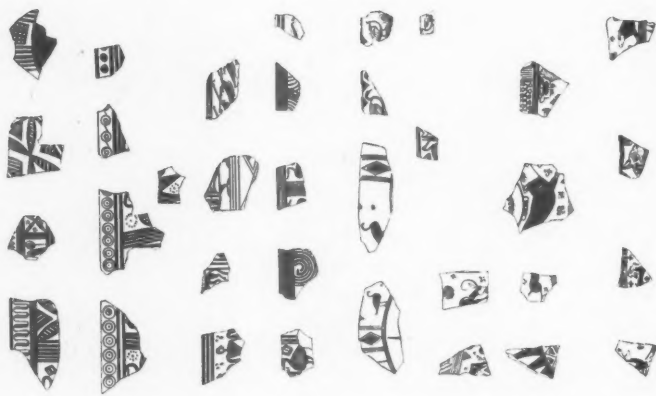


1. Vase of Cypriote type but probably not of Cypriote manufacture (the stand below is Cypriote)





2. Designs on pottery from Levels 8-10  
Island geometric ware



1. Designs on pottery of Levels 5-7  
Late Island geometric; Rhodian and Naukratie  
'bird bowls'; Rhodian Orientalizing wares

undertaken the final publication of our results, and, therefore, in this preliminary report on the first season I have dealt only with the broader issues of the work. The material is so diverse that its detailed publication must needs be the work of many hands, and only when that has appeared can the historical value of the excavations be fully assessed, so that my present conclusions are but tentative. At least we have broken new ground, and if I interpret the evidence correctly, final results will modify our views of classical archaeology more profoundly than I have ventured to suggest.

## *The Church of Quintanilla de las Viñas*

By W. M. WHITEHILL, F.S.A., and A. W. CLAPHAM, Secretary

[Read 7th May 1936]

### I

THE ermita of Santa Maria de Quintanilla de las Viñas,<sup>1</sup> although one of the most important examples of pre-Romanesque architecture and sculpture in Spain, was unknown to archaeologists until 1927.

Padre Enrique Flórez,<sup>2</sup> writing in 1772, mentioned the building in connexion with the reported existence of Roman inscriptions in its vicinity, but, as he had not seen it, gave no description. J. A. Cean Bermudez,<sup>3</sup> who likewise had not been on the spot, published a somewhat confused account of certain inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> From Cean Bermudez, Hübner copied three enigmatic monograms said to be 'in aedicula S. Mariae de las

<sup>1</sup> The church is ten minutes' walk outside the village of Quintanilla de las Viñas, ayuntamiento of Mambrillas de Lara, partido of Salas de los Infantes, province of Burgos. Quintanilla de las Viñas, in the heart of *Castilla la Vieja* and within sight of the historic *campo de Lara*, was until recently a remote village, difficult of access, but since 1930 it has had a motor-road of sorts, which joins the Burgos-Soria highway between Mazariegos and Mambrillas de Lara. The name of the village does not figure upon ordinary maps of the province of Burgos, but it is given in Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España* (Madrid, 1849), xiii, 337, as Quintanilla de las Viñas. The ermita is, however, sometimes described as Santa Maria de las Viñas in Quintanilla de Lara.

<sup>2</sup> *España Sagrada* (Madrid, 1772), xxvii, 622.

<sup>3</sup> *Sumario de las Antigüedades Romanas que hay en España* (Madrid, 1832), 181.

<sup>4</sup> Cean Bermudez states that beneath the altar of the ermita is a tomb 'con muchas labores de gusto' and with an inscription. In the upper part were the letters:

T. R. P. D. S. T. T. L.

in the middle:

NA. RN. O  
NI. FL. AVENI  
CAR. PET. L. VX  
AMA. IBARSEN  
SI. SER. VO. A. XX

then 'un espacio con muchos adornos', and at the bottom these monograms:

E  
A ——— N  
|  
L

F  
R ——— N  
|  
C

A  
A ——— N  
|  
L

This tomb does not exist to-day at Quintanilla de las Viñas, and perhaps never was there, for Cean Bermudez's information was admittedly second-hand, and he published a very similar inscription as existing at Osma (Alava).

## CHURCH OF QUINTANILLA DE LAS VIÑAS 17

Viñas prope Quintanilla, non longe a Lara oppido', and published them both in his *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*<sup>1</sup> and *Inscriptionum Hispaniae Christianarum Supplementum*.<sup>2</sup>

The recent discovery or the rediscovery of the building was made by Don Bonifacio Zamora,<sup>3</sup> a native of a neighbouring village, who having often visited it while still a student, and made drawings of details, called the attention of Don José Luis Monteverde of Burgos to it. It was first published in the *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos*,<sup>4</sup> by Don Luciano Huidobro, who attributed it, I believe correctly, to the tenth century.

The late A. Kingsley Porter, who had seen the building in the summer of 1927, included three plates of its figure-sculpture in his *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*.<sup>5</sup> He attributed the church to the first quarter of the tenth century.

In 1928 Señor Alvarez Cañas<sup>6</sup> published a somewhat fantastic study of Quintanilla de las Viñas, and Señor Orueta,<sup>7</sup> sometime Director-General de Bellas Artes, endeavoured to prove that the building was Visigothic work of the seventh century.

In 1929 casts of the sculptures were shown at the Barcelona Exposition,<sup>8</sup> and on 25th November it was declared a National monument.<sup>9</sup> In October of the same year P. Justo Pérez de Urbel published an article—summarized in the *Enciclopedia Espasa*<sup>10</sup>—in which he brought forward historical evidence for an early tenth-century date.

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, 1879, no. 2885.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, 1900, no. 387.

<sup>3</sup> Luciano Huidobro y Serna, 'El monasterio de San Pedro de Berlangas en Tordomar y su célebre caligrafo el monje Florencio', *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos*, iv (1934-7), 244, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> 'Santa Maria de las Viñas en Quintanilla de Lara', *ibid.* ii (1926-9), 175, 238-42, 266-8.

<sup>5</sup> New York: Harcourt Brace, 1928, i, 37-8.

<sup>6</sup> Vicencio Alvarez Cañas, 'La ermita de Quintanilla de las Viñas. Importancia artística e histórica de sus fajas decorativas', *Anuario Eclesiástico*, 1928 (Barcelona: Eugenio Subirana, 1928), 152\*-6\*.

<sup>7</sup> Ricardo de Orueta, 'La ermita de Quintanilla de las Viñas en el campo de la antigua Lara: estudio de su escultura', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, iv (1928), 169-78.

<sup>8</sup> Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona, 1929. El Arte en España. Guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional* (3rd ed., Barcelona: Eugenio Subirana, 1929), 51. Sr. Gómez-Moreno described the church as an 'ermita visigoda: siglo VII'.

<sup>9</sup> 'Santa Maria de las Viñas, Monumento Nacional', *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos*, ii (1926-9), 481-91.

<sup>10</sup> *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (Bilbao: Espasa-Calpe, 1933), viii, Apéndice, 1129-30.

Other authors, including Sr. Gómez-Moreno, have attributed it to the Visigothic period. However, the most recent student of Spanish pre-Romanesque art, Dr. Helmut Schlunk of Berlin, after a careful stylistic analysis, tentatively dates both Santa Maria de Quintanilla de las Viñas and the related monument of San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora) about 900.<sup>1</sup>

Señor Monteverde informs me that in a second campaign of excavations, carried out in the autumn of 1935, various foundations of the destroyed nave<sup>2</sup> and a quantity of Visigothic terra sigillata were discovered. An account of these finds will be published shortly.

Lara seems from the earliest times, because of its strategic position, to have been a place of consequence. Great quantities of neolithic and Celtiberian objects have been found in the vicinity, and the numerous inscriptions from Lara published by Hübner testify to its importance in the Roman period. Joined to Clunia by a Roman road, it was, under both Roman and Visigothic domination, the chief place of the region which is to-day the *partido judicial* of Salas de los Infantes. Situated on a hill (pl. xv, 1), it dominated the area watered by the river Arlanza and its tributaries, and, owing to its commanding position, Lara constituted from the beginning of the ninth century the most advanced stronghold of the Christian states against the Moorish armies. Fernán-Gonzalez, the great count of the early tenth century who won the independence of Castile and laid the foundations of its future greatness, had his seat at Lara, and his family restored to the place much of the importance it had enjoyed during the Roman domination. But it is the romance of the *Siete Infantes de Lara*<sup>3</sup> that kept fresh the name of the place in the popular imagination long after the town had decayed into insignificance, for this grim tale of the murder of the seven sons of Gonzalo Gustios, Conde de Lara, became one of the stock themes of Spanish medieval literature. The wedding at Burgos, the wrath of Doña Lambra, the treacherous murder of the young lords, the captivity of their father in Córdoba, and

<sup>1</sup> A general survey of Spanish pre-Romanesque art by Dr. Schlunk will appear shortly. I am indebted to Professor A. M. Friend, jr., for the gift of a set of mimeographed outlines prepared for the course of lectures, *Spanish Art in the Early Middle Ages*, which Dr. Schlunk gave at Princeton University in 1934-5.

<sup>2</sup> Foundations of a three-aisled nave, and of small rooms at the extremities of the transepts, were apparently discovered. These excavations, however, were carried out after my last visit (Easter 1935) to Quintanilla de las Viñas, and I have been unable to secure more precise information about the finds.

<sup>3</sup> The most complete study of the theme is that of R. Menéndez Pidal.

the final avengement of their wrongs by Mudarra, the son of Gonzalo Gustios and a Moorish mother, are familiar, in one form or another, to thousands who have never actually seen the *campos de Lara*.

The ermita of Santa Maria de Quintanilla de las Viñas was once the church of the Benedictine nuns of Santa Maria de Lara.<sup>1</sup> The community was founded before 923, for on 28th January of that year the mother of Fernán-Gonzalez, the Condesa Momadona, together with her sons, made a donation to the abbess and nuns.<sup>2</sup> Nothing else is known of the early history of the convent of Santa Maria de Lara, which was, by the second quarter of the eleventh century, annexed to the neighbouring abbey of San Pedro de Arlanza.<sup>3</sup>

There is, unfortunately, no act of consecration or other document preserved which might aid in the dating of the church, but a slight clue is furnished by an inscription on one of the capitals of the triumphal arch of the building. On the Epistle side (above the representation of the Sun) is carved the text: +OC EXIGVVM EXIGVA OFFLO FLAMMOLA VOTVM (pl. xviii, 1). Now the name Flamula is common enough in Castile, but there is at least a good possibility that the benefactress named in this inscription may be identified with the Doña Flamula who was the wife of Gonzalo Téllez, Conde de Cerezo de Río Tirón.

In the early years of the tenth century there is a number of records of gifts to neighbouring monasteries by the pair.<sup>4</sup> The Arlanza and Cardeña cartularies show that this Doña Flamula was active in the region from 902 to 929, though without definitely associating her with Santa Maria de Lara.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no reasonable doubt over the identification of the present ermita of Santa Maria in Quintanilla de las Viñas with the one-time Benedictine convent of Santa Maria de Lara. Gregorio de Argaiiz, *La Soledad Laureada por San Benito y sus hijos en las iglesias de España* (Madrid, 1675), vi, 284, states: 'Del mismo año (929) se halla el Monasterio de Santa Maria de Lara. Fué convento ilustre. Oy perseveran sus ruinas. Lllamanle aora Santa Maria de las Viñas.' This is sound seventeenth-century testimony, and the identification is completely accepted locally to-day.

<sup>2</sup> Luciano Serrano, *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1925), 18-21.

<sup>3</sup> Serrano, *op. cit.* 66-72.

<sup>4</sup> Serrano, *Becerro gótico de Cardeña* (Santo Domingo de Silos, 1910), 120-1, 327-8, 34-5, 114-15; *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza*, 10-13, 24-6.

<sup>5</sup> It appears that, in the excitement over the discovery of Santa Maria de las Viñas, some enterprising person either forged a cartulary of Santa Maria de Lara and copies of certain 'lost inscriptions' (said to come from the church), or caused rumours of the existence of such documents to circulate in Burgos. Sr. Huidobro, acting in perfectly good faith, mentioned these documents (which he had not

Another clue to the dating of the church is offered by three monograms on the east wall of the apse (pl. xvii, 1). The interpretation of these monograms is difficult, although the reading is beyond doubt as follows:



Monograms of a similar sort were used to indicate the names of cities on Visigothic coins,<sup>1</sup> but there seems to have been no fixed order in which the letters should be read. The Quintanilla monograms may therefore, I suspect, be read in any order one chooses. Various interpretations have been given. Padre Pérez de Urbel<sup>2</sup> read the first and second as ADEFONSUS LEGIONE and the third as FREDENANDUS CASTELLA, that is, as the names of the king of León and the count of Castile. The chief difficulty with this interpretation is to explain why the name of Alfonso should have been carved twice, once as AFN and once as ADN. FECERUNT seems to me a reasonable reading for the third, and ADEFONSUS and DANIEL or DANILA (elsewhere suggested) possible enough for the first and second. But even if one read ADEFONSUS DANILA FECERUNT one would be no nearer the date of the church, for there would be no certain way of identifying the Alfonso and Daniel in question! And I have been unable to discover any other proper names in the published documents of the region that seem to fit the monograms any better. Padre Pérez de Urbel's interpretation is particularly seductive, for, if one accepts it, one has only to discover the moment when an Alfonso was king of León and a Ferdinand count of Castile to discover the date of the church, and this is not difficult, for, as he points out, between 925 and 930 Alfonso IV *el Monje* ruled in León, and the Conde de Castilla was Fernando Assuriz. This, as a matter of fact, agrees perfectly with the dates of Doña Flamula, who flourished from 902 to 929.

Therefore, if one accepts, first, the identification of the Flamula of the votive inscription carved upon the Sun capital with the wife of Gonzalo Téllez, Conde de Cerezo de Río Tirón, and,

seen) in the *Boletín* of the Burgos Historical Monuments Commission, ii (1926-9), 267-8. I have been assured by competent authorities, however, that this material (if it ever existed save in rumour) was quite false.

<sup>1</sup> Aloïss Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies des rois wisigoths d'Espagne* (Paris, 1872), pls. viii, xi.

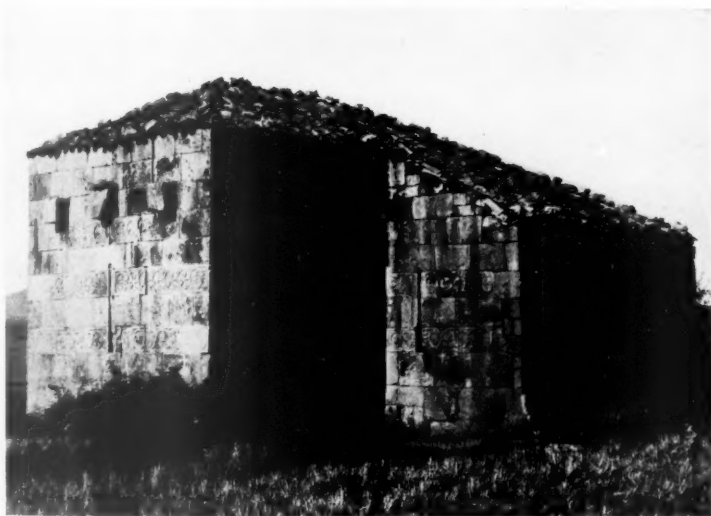
<sup>2</sup> 'La antiquissima ermita de Santa Maria de las Viñas', *A. B. C.*, 5th October 1929.





*Photo. Club, Burgos*

1. Quintanilla and the castle of Lara



*Photo. Club, Burgos*

2. Quintanilla church from NE.



*Photo. Club, Burgos*  
2. Interior of north transept



*Photo. Club, Burgos*  
1. Chancel arch

secondly, Padre Pérez de Urbel's interpretation of the monograms, one has strong ground for dating Santa Maria de las Viñas between 925 and 929. However, it must be admitted that the identification of Flamula, although extremely probable, is not beyond dispute, and that the interpretation of the monograms is a knotty problem over which there may well be differences of opinion.

W. M. W.

## II

The little church of Quintanilla de las Viñas occupies a small knoll about half a mile to the east of the village. As it now stands (pl. xv, 2), it consists only of a chancel and transept, but the surviving evidence and recent excavation show that the original design included also an aisled nave and chambers beyond the transepts.

The remains of the vaulting of the south aisle on the west wall of the existing building imply that part of the nave at any rate was actually erected. The architecture of the building is of the simplest character, but the whole structure is faced within and without with ashlar. There is no evidence of arches between the crossing and the arms of the transept or the nave, the only arch being that at the entrance to the chancel. This feature with the blocked arches into the nave aisles and the surviving springer of the south arcade of the nave either are or were all of horse-shoe form. The chancel arch (pl. xvi, 1) springs from heavy carved impostes resting on detached columns standing free of the responds on rough bases. The windows are narrow round-headed loops deeply splayed on the inside. The opening to the nave and the arches to the aisles have been filled in with later masonry and the fragmentary condition of the arch to the north aisle (which is not visible on the W. face) indicates that the W. wall of the N. transept has been largely rebuilt.

The chancel was covered with a groined vault of which the springers remain, and there are traces of a similar vault at the E. end of the S. aisle of the nave. The rest of the building is now timber-roofed. The ends of the transepts have square-headed doorways, and the side walls have broken ends indicating destroyed chambers to the N. and S., foundations of which are said to have recently been traced.

One feature of the masonry is in the highest degree remarkable. This is best preserved in the N. transept (pl. xvi, 2), though apparent also in a less degree in the S. transept. The feature consists in giving a slight projection to each alternate course of the

internal ashlar masonry, the angles of the projection being chamfered off. The result is a definite example of rusticated masonry, and is a piece of architectural refinement which can hardly be encountered again, in western Europe, before the Renaissance.

Before proceeding to the carved decoration of the church it will be well to consider first the general type of the plan and superstructure and its position in the evolution of Spanish architecture.

Spanish architecture, as distinct from that of Catalonia, which does not concern the present subject, pursued an isolated course of development from the Moorish conquest in 711 to the introduction of Romanesque building from France in the eleventh century. It was remarkably little influenced by the far higher cultural achievements of the Moorish builders, and the country was politically and artistically to a great extent cut off from the rest of Christian Europe. The origins of this architecture must therefore be sought in the structures erected in the Visigothic period before the Moorish conquest, tintured perhaps by Byzantine ideas emanating from that stretch of the SE. coast for long held in uncertain tenure by the Eastern Empire. The examples of Visigothic architecture in Spain are by no means numerous, but the literary evidence of St. Isidore of Seville and others and the increasing number of isolated discoveries show that Visigothic art maintained a level in no wise inferior to, though different from, that of southern Merovingian Gaul.

Perhaps the most complete surviving example of the age is the church of S. Juan de Baños (province of Palencia) built by King Recesvint in 661. Here are to be found three features which survived in Spanish architecture till the introduction of the full Romanesque. They are the square E. end, the free-standing respond-columns, and the use of the horse-shoe arch.

The square E. end is by no means universal in Visigothic building, and its introduction and survival is perhaps to be ascribed to a lack of ability in the masons of the remoter parts of the country to produce the more difficult round or apsidal form. This lack of ability would certainly be accentuated after the Moorish conquest had driven the remnants of the Goths into the mountains of the extreme north. The free-standing respond-column is probably a barbaric survival of the classical practice exemplified in some of the early churches of Rome; its use has recently been demonstrated in the excavation of the tenth-century (?) 'lower' church at Silos. The horse-shoe arch was known in Spain under the late empire, as may be seen in funeral stelae of that period at León and elsewhere. Far from being a



1



2



3



4



5

Carved Friezes



*Photo. W. M. Whitehill*

1. South side



*Photo. Club, Burgos*

2. North side

Carved imposts to chancel arch

## CHURCH OF QUINTANILLA DE LAS VIÑAS 23

Moorish introduction it appears to have been copied by them from the Visigoths, who seem to have made an almost universal use of this form.

In the succeeding period (ninth to eleventh century) writers on Spanish architecture have distinguished two types of building

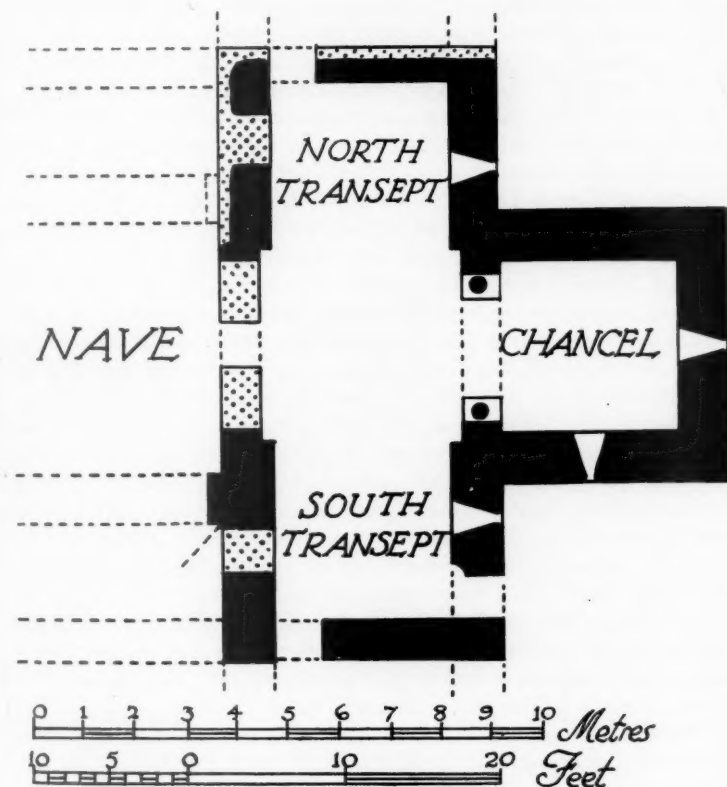


FIG. 1. Quintanilla church, ground-plan

commonly called Asturian and Mozarabic. The former was the product of the independent Christian principalities of the north and the latter the work of Christians under Moorish rule or influence, such as those who fled or were driven out of the Moorish kingdom by the persecution of Abderrahman II (822-52). The main distinction between the two types, apart from the greater sophistication of Mozarabic building, is the supposed



absence of the horse-shoe arch in the Asturian and its universality in the Mozarabic type. That the latter type used this arch in its accentuated Moorish form is obvious and easily understandable, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the Asturian builders did not entirely abandon a form which had been extensively used by their Gothic predecessors. Thus the presence of the horse-shoe arch at Quintanilla need not necessarily imply the work of Mozarabic builders, particularly as the arches are not of the pronounced Moorish type.

The Asturian churches were practically all square-ended, and two of the type, in particular, show close affinities with the church at Quintanilla. These are the churches of Santullano (Oviedo) and of S. Pedro de la Nave (Zamora). Santullano (built by Alfonso II the Chaste, 791-842) is the closer of the two and, as the plan<sup>1</sup> shows, differs only in the presence of side chapels flanking the chancel. La Nave<sup>2</sup> has been assigned by Gómez-Moreno to the Visigothic period, but its complex form, carved decoration, and historical probability all point to a date between 893 and 907 (the years of the reconquest and the first record of the building). Its plan is more elaborate than Quintanilla, but it has, throughout its structure, the horse-shoe arches of that church. The close correspondence between the carved decoration will be apparent on comparison with the illustrations in the article cited above and those of Quintanilla.

The use of groined vaulting at Quintanilla is paralleled more commonly in the Mozarabic churches than in those of the Asturian type, where the barrel-vault is almost universally employed, if any form of stone roof is present.

It will thus be seen that the church at Quintanilla can be closely equated in all its architectural features with various other buildings assignable with certainty or probability to a date late in the ninth or early in the tenth century.

It would, I think, be idle to attempt to find parallels elsewhere in Europe to this architecture of northern Spain. Its unfamiliar expression for long rendered it suspect as an authentic product of its age, and neither Italy nor England can produce anything really akin to it. The produce of an isolated and comparatively unimportant people, it pursued its own course of development largely unaffected by extraneous influences, and the achievements which stand to its credit are some testimony to the creative capacity of the Spanish-Gothic race.

<sup>1</sup> V. Lampérez, *Hist. de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española*, i, 340.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 185; M. Gómez-Moreno in *Architectural Review*, xxvi (1909), 132 and 191.

Of greater importance than the architecture of Quintanilla is the sculptured decoration, in which it is as rich or richer than its only Spanish rival, S. Pedro de la Nave. This decoration takes the form of a series of carved bands or friezes on the external walls of the chancel and transept. In addition to this the archivolt of the chancel-arch has similar carving, and the imposts have carved figure-subjects; there are, lying loose in the church, other carved imposts, perhaps from the destroyed nave. The friezes are three in number on the E. wall of the chancel, forming alternate courses in the ashlar-facing. Only two of these friezes, however, are continued along the side walls and the E. face of the transept. The lowest frieze (pl. xvii, 4) throughout the E. end of the church consists of a running vine-scroll with foliage of a spiny acanthus type. The second frieze (pl. xvii, 1) on the E. wall of the chancel consists of a guilloche framework with marigold ornaments and monograms (three complete and spaces for three more left uncarved). The third frieze (pl. xvii, 3) on this wall has a similar guilloche frame enclosing beasts; this motif, with the substitution of birds for beasts, forms also the second frieze (pl. xvii, 2) on the side walls of the chancel and the E. walls of the transept; the archivolt of the chancel-arch combines the vine-scroll with birds.

Turning first to the purely conventional ornament on the middle frieze of the chancel, we find only the one motif, the marigold, but on the wall of the S. transept is a single example of the scallop shell. The marigold had been at home in Spain at least since the fourth and probably from the third century. It occurs on a series of funeral stelae at León and elsewhere in the N., with purely pagan inscriptions, and was in continuous use throughout the Visigothic period. In the subsequent period it is also not infrequent, and may be noted especially on the friezes at S. Pedro de la Nave.

The scallop-shell (pl. xvii, 5) is much less common, but can be traced back through Coptic decoration to Syria, where it is to be found occasionally in church decoration in the sixth and seventh centuries. An architectural use of the motif is exemplified on a slab of the Visigothic period on the cathedral at Lisbon.

The friezes with beasts and birds in a guilloche border, with sprigs of acanthus foliage, must, I think, be derived from ivories and textiles of Moorish and Near Eastern provenance. The animals and birds set in a guilloche framework are the staple forms of ornament of that large class of ivories, the oliphants or horns which are so extensively distributed over Europe. The examples from the British, Victoria and Albert, and Louvre

Museums will serve to show the originals from which the Castilian stone-carver attempted to copy. I would call particular attention to the bull (pl. xvii, 3) in the Quintanilla frieze which might have been considered a copy from nature were it not reproduced in a closely similar form on the Horn of Ulf at York. These ivories are commonly dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but their motifs were copied with little or no variation from earlier sources, and the guinea-fowl at Quintanilla are certainly of Eastern origin. Similar carvings are found on ivory caskets of the same period, and many of these, of Moorish workmanship, found their way into the treasuries of Leónese and Castilian churches. Examples may be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum and at Paris. Most of these, however, have the typical Islamic foliage, while the Quintanilla friezes have only the spiny acanthus. This distinction is, however, of little consequence, as both forms of foliage were in constant employment in the works of the Omayyad Caliphate either in the mosque at Cordova or in the neighbouring palace of Medina az-Zahra.

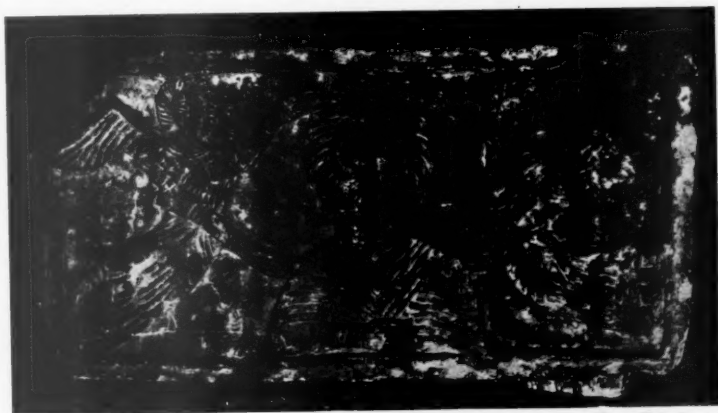
The same copying of ivory motifs in stone or marble is also to be found in southern Italy. At Sorrento is a series of plutei or panels from a screen which, though later in date and of finer workmanship than the animals at Quintanilla, may well have had a corresponding origin. Ivories, either direct from the Near East or from Saracenic Sicily, were no doubt easily available as models. Somewhat similar birds and beasts are to be found in contemporary manuscripts<sup>1</sup> and textiles.

Finally we come to the carved impostos of the two columns of the chancel arch. These represent the sun and the moon (pl. xviii) personified as busts set in wreaths and supported by pairs of angels. This elaborate pagan treatment of subjects which are usually of quite subsidiary importance is highly remarkable, and I am unable to produce any parallel examples. The sun and moon most commonly appear in early Christian art as pendants to the Crucifixion, and it seems possible that, at Quintanilla also, they formed adjuncts to a great rood which hung under the chancel-arch. In this connexion the sun and moon make their appearance almost as early as the Crucifixion itself, and the motif may perhaps have been borrowed from earlier Mithraic reliefs where they form a common adjunct to the Slaying of the Bull. Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dictionnaire* reproduces a number of early examples, including an ampulla (c. 600) and a cross of Theodolinda's age from Monza, an illumination from the Rahbula Gospels

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bible of León, finished 920, and a tenth-century tissue with hippocamps, both illustrated in Gómez-Moreno, *Cal. Mon. de España, León*, pls. 82 and 137.

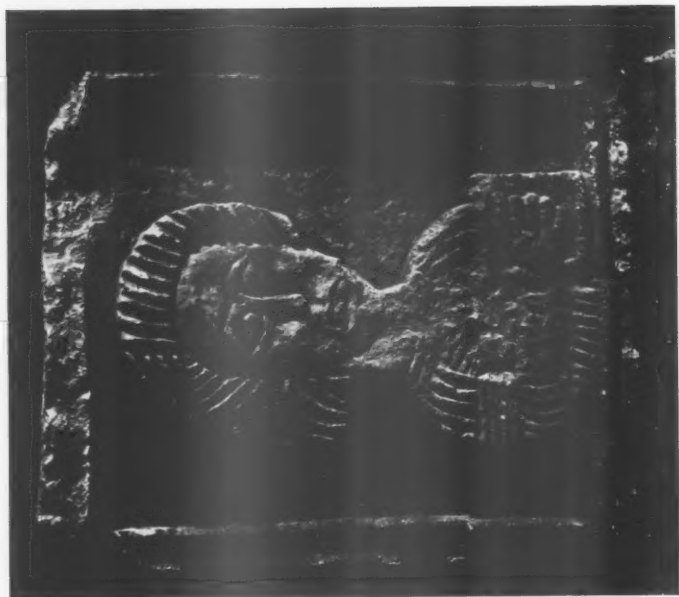


*Photo. W. M. Whitehill*



*Photo. Club, Burgos*

Carved imposts, now loose



*Photo. Club, Burgos*



*Photo. Club, Burgos*

Carved panels of Apostles (?)

## CHURCH OF QUINTANILLA DE LAS VIÑAS 27

of 586, and an eighth-century fresco from Santa Maria Antiqua at Rome. The example, however, from the Rambona diptych is perhaps the earliest, in Christian art, where any attempt is made to personify either the sun or moon. This practice, however, was almost universal during the Carolingian period, and the latest phases of the motif show a dramatization of the subject by representing the personified luminaries as weeping over the Crucifixion.

The two detached abaci (pl. xix) must, presumably, have come from the arches of the destroyed nave, for, as we have seen, the other sides of the crossing seem never to have had arches. One has a female bust holding a cross, and the other a male bust without attributes; both are supported by angels. I assume that the first is a woman because the enriched circles round the head appear to represent dressed hair rather than a halo. Three other smaller panels survive, one of Christ and the others (pl. xx) each containing the bust of a man holding a book and probably representing evangelists.

The treatment of the drapery and head-dress in all these figures is of a very summary character, consisting almost entirely of parallel scored lines. It is curious to note how closely this technique is followed in a nearly contemporary manuscript, the *Biblia Hispalense*<sup>1</sup> of the tenth century at Madrid. Whether the manuscript is copied from a carving or the carving from a manuscript, I am unable to say. The correspondence is much closer than with the figures of the Pemmo altar at Cividale, with which it has also been compared.

A. W. C.

<sup>1</sup> J. Domínguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination*, i, pl. 4. I am indebted to Dr. Hildburgh for drawing my attention to this point.

## *Report on Excavations at Verulamium in 1934*

By A. W. G. LOWTHER, F.S.A.

### INSULA XVI

DURING the time that the excavation of the theatre was being carried out, the investigation of insula XVI, immediately west of it, was begun, and was completed after some three months' work.

The insula, a rectangle measuring 300 ft. by 160 ft. (with its greater length stretching from east to west) is bounded by roads on three sides, and by the metalled space surrounding the theatre on its fourth, or eastern, side.<sup>1</sup> Cross-trenches showed the south road to be 29 ft., and the north road 18 ft., in width; the west road had been at least 29 ft. wide, but, owing to soil having been denuded from this higher part of the site, the exact width of this road was not determined by either of the two trenches dug across it (plan, pl. xxv).

The only building inside the insula had been a temple of the square 'Romano-Celtic' type, externally 53 ft. square, and containing a square cella measuring 19 ft. internally. The foundations of the eastern half of the building were found to remain *in situ* (pl. xxi, 1), but its western half had been more thoroughly robbed of its materials, and the place of the walls was occupied by debris-filled 'robber trenches'.<sup>2</sup> The piece of a votive object, a conventionalized plume (fig. 2, no. 3), was found in one of these trenches, and was the only find which can be connected with the actual use of the temple. A 'Short cross' penny of Henry III, in fair condition,<sup>3</sup> found at the bottom of a 'robber trench', implies that c. A.D. 1250 was the main period when the temple was being robbed of its material.

The veranda surrounding the cella was found to be 12 ft. wide, and the walls which formed these two main units of the building were both 2 ft. 6 in. thick. In its setting-out, the building is not a true square, the outer west wall measuring 52 ft. instead of 53 ft., the length of the other three sides. The

<sup>1</sup> In describing the work, for simplicity the end of the insula nearest the theatre is referred to as the 'east' end. Actually, its direction is more 'north-east' than east.

<sup>2</sup> The debris in the robber trenches contained some evidence as to the treatment of the building above foundation-level. Mosaic tesserae (all either white or dark brown) and coloured wall plaster (dark red and deep olive-green were the only colours) were present in large quantity.

<sup>3</sup> Kindly identified by Mr. Derek Allen, see list of coins (c).





FIG. 1. View, looking east, of the north-east half of the Temple



FIG. 2. Part of the temenos colonnades enclosing the Temple.  
View from A on plan

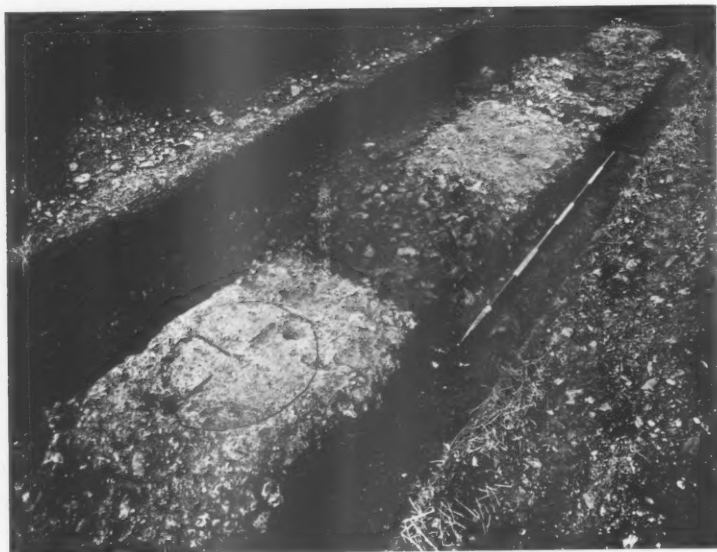


FIG. 1. East Gateway, with imprint of brick column

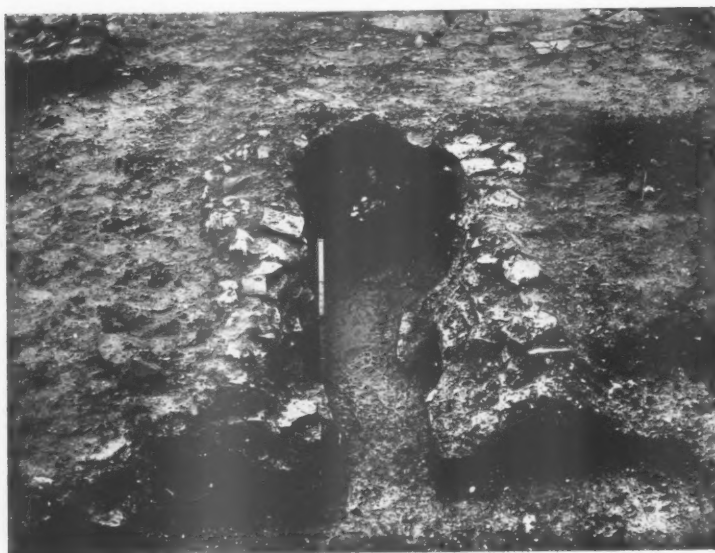


FIG. 2. The oven

north side of the building is the one that is 'out of true', and in this respect it agrees with the form of the insula itself, which is similarly narrower at its western end.

The outer wall has an outward 'offset' (of approximately 4 in.) for the two lowest courses of flints, immediately above the foundations. This offset, although free-built, was concealed by the gravel spread which had formed the original surface surrounding the temple. It had, therefore, formed part of the foundation, and would serve to counteract the thrust on the wall of the raised floors inside the building.

As will be seen from the section (pl. xxv, 1), the cella wall is built with its foundations at a level of 1 ft. above those of the outer wall, implying that the floor of the cella had been at a higher level than that of the veranda.

No floor-surface to either cella or veranda had survived, but a thick deposit of clayey gravel (levels I and II), which had been laid (when the temple was originally built) to raise these floors well above the outside level, was still *in situ*.

Nothing that can be assigned to a date later than the second half of the first century A.D. was found in any of the levels (nos. I, II, and III) which were contemporary with the erection of the temple. In these levels there was some pottery of Flavian date, and the piece of Samian, form 27 (fig. 2, no. 6: examined by Dr. Pryce, who reports that it is Vespasianic), was found in the foundation-trench of the cella wall. The date of the building of the temple is therefore probably late first century, or c. A.D. 90.

Beneath the building (and lying directly on the gravel sub-soil) was a dark sandy layer (levels IV and V: subdivided because the upper part was somewhat darker than the lower half, but the contained pottery proved that the final disturbance of both levels had taken place at the same date). From its composition, this clearly represented an original humus layer, and, from the way in which fragments of the same vessel were found distributed throughout it, probably of land that was ploughed. Among the objects found in this level were two coins of Cunobelin and one of Claudius I.

Two annexes, one on the north and the other on the south side of the temple, were additions to the original square structure. Their walls were narrower than those of the original building and of inferior workmanship, being built with a very sandy and soft mortar of a yellow colour. They were not bonded to the earlier work. The ends of these annexes project 10 ft. beyond the original limits of the temple, and the projecting part had been partitioned off from the remainder. This was

proved to be so at the east end of each annexe, and it is conjectured that the same arrangement had existed at their western ends, but, in the time available, this could not be established. Some pottery of late third-century type was discovered in the foundation-trenches of the annexe walls, and proved these additions to be not earlier than that date. It is possible that columns or timber posts (their positions shown, conjecturally, on the plan by crosses) served to link the projecting ends of the annexes, but this was not proved.

Three parallel foundations (pl. xxv, 4) were found to surround the insula and form the enclosure of the temenos. The central foundation of these three proved to be the earliest (section, pl. xxv, 2) and to have belonged to a wall enclosing the site. It is of different construction from the foundations on either side of it, being built mainly of squared chalk blocks, set in mortar, together with flints, and in places (particularly at the corners of the insula) with courses of tiles. It was provided, along the outer face, with buttresses similarly constructed and apparently contemporary, though not bonded to the wall and only carried a short distance (3 or 4 in.) below the original gravel surface. Their interval varied from 11 ft. 7 in. to 12 ft. centre to centre. The wall was 1 ft. 8 in. thick, and had been carefully built. In view of its chalk construction originally it was probably surfaced with a rendering of mortar, though none of this had survived. From the evidence of pottery (as well as by the correlation of the level into which it had been built with the theatre levels) the wall was built at a date not later than the early second century, and had formed the temenos enclosure when the temple was still in its original form. The entrance through this wall was probably in the centre of the east side, which position it occupied in the succeeding period.

This succeeding period, datable from a coin (rather worn) of Tetricus I and some pottery as not earlier than *c.* A.D. 300, was one in which the temenos enclosure was rebuilt on a more monumental scale (pls. xxi, 2, and xxv).<sup>1</sup>

The inner and outer foundations belong to this period. The inner is 11 ft. from the buttressed wall; the outer, 10 ft. from it. Before they were constructed, the level of the ground at the theatre (east) end of the insula was artificially raised to a height of 2 ft. by the importation of a quantity of freshly dug clayey-gravel. This material was spread on both sides of the buttressed wall in such a way that the layer diminished in thickness towards

<sup>1</sup> The period of this rebuild agrees, in date, with the final period of the theatre alterations (Period IV), in which it was enlarged considerably.

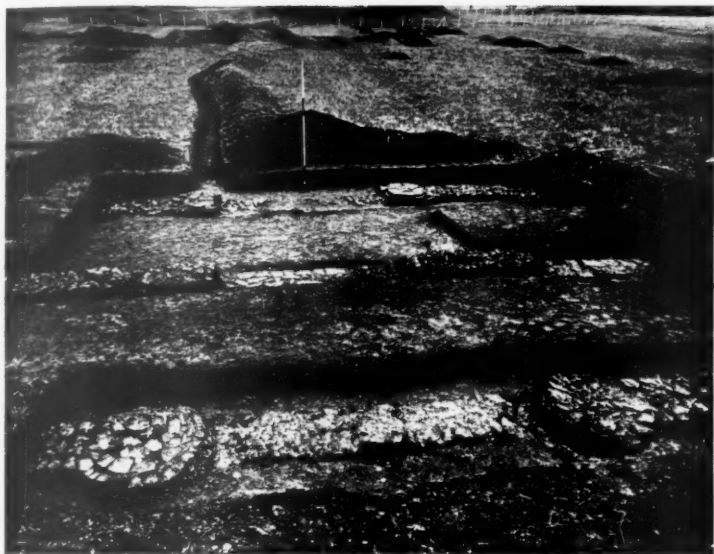


FIG. 1. West Gateway, looking towards the Temple

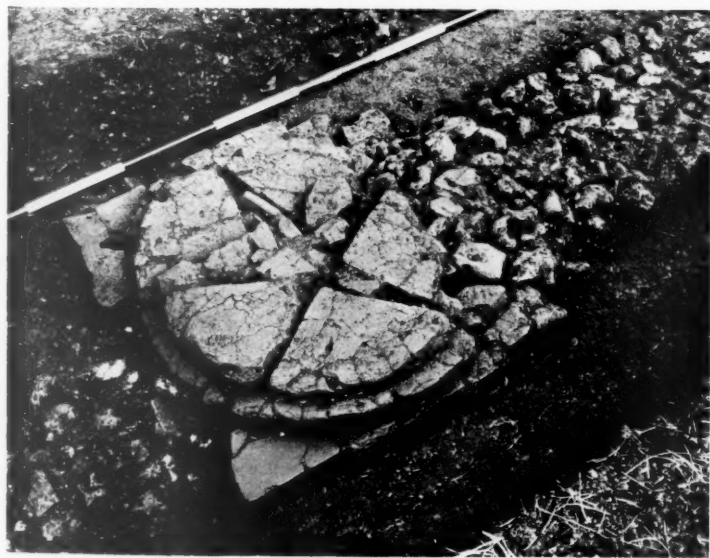


FIG. 2. One of the brick columns of the West Gateway



FIG. 1. East corner of insula XII (Forum)



FIG. 2. Drain beside the East-West road, with the East corner of insula XII to right



## EXCAVATIONS AT VERULAMIUM IN 1934 31

the higher (west) end of the insula, at which end the level was lowered a few inches (shown by the bottom of the buttresses, at the west end, being level with the new surface). It does not extend into the temple courts, which seem to have remained at their original level in this period. The purpose of this 'spread' was therefore to reduce the gradient in preparation for the structures to be built against the buttressed wall, which, it may be assumed, would be heightened at the same time.

It is clear that these structures consisted of an inner and an outer colonnade,<sup>1</sup> and that the foundations were in the nature of 'sleeper walls', presumably for the support of rows of columns. They were built with their upper surface finished with a tile course (or double course) level with the surface of the newly deposited gravel, and are similar to the sleeper wall enclosing the court of the temple, insula VII, excavated in the previous season. That no trace of any of the columns or column bases was found is explainable by subsequent alterations, when the tile course (which must have been below them) was itself removed. The level surface, with the imprint of the tiles, was found below the flintwork of the final rebuild (section, pl. xxv, 2).

Contemporary with the erection of these colonnades was the building of an entrance gateway, passing through them, in the centre of the east side of the insula, facing the theatre.

This gateway had been treated with considerable architectural pretension on the side facing into the court, where it had had a flanking pier and column to each side of the opening and in line with the inner range of columns. Owing to extensive robbing on the side facing the theatre, it could not be shown whether the same arrangement had existed for the outer colonnade, though the width of the robber trench and certain other factors, described later, make it seem improbable.

The foundation that had carried these piers and columns measured 24 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in., and, though it had been built over in the following period, it still retained the imprint of one tile-built column (pl. xxii, 1) and traces of one of the piers with its mortar rendering. The column had been formed with four segmental bricks to each course, giving a diameter of 2 ft. 3 in. for the lowest course. The base, with its mouldings, like the surface of the column, must have been formed in mortar.

The difference in level between the courtyard and the raised surface below the gateway had been overcome by making a

<sup>1</sup> Since this Report was written, excavations at the site of the Harlow temple in Essex (during 1936) have shown that it possessed a similar enclosing colonnade.



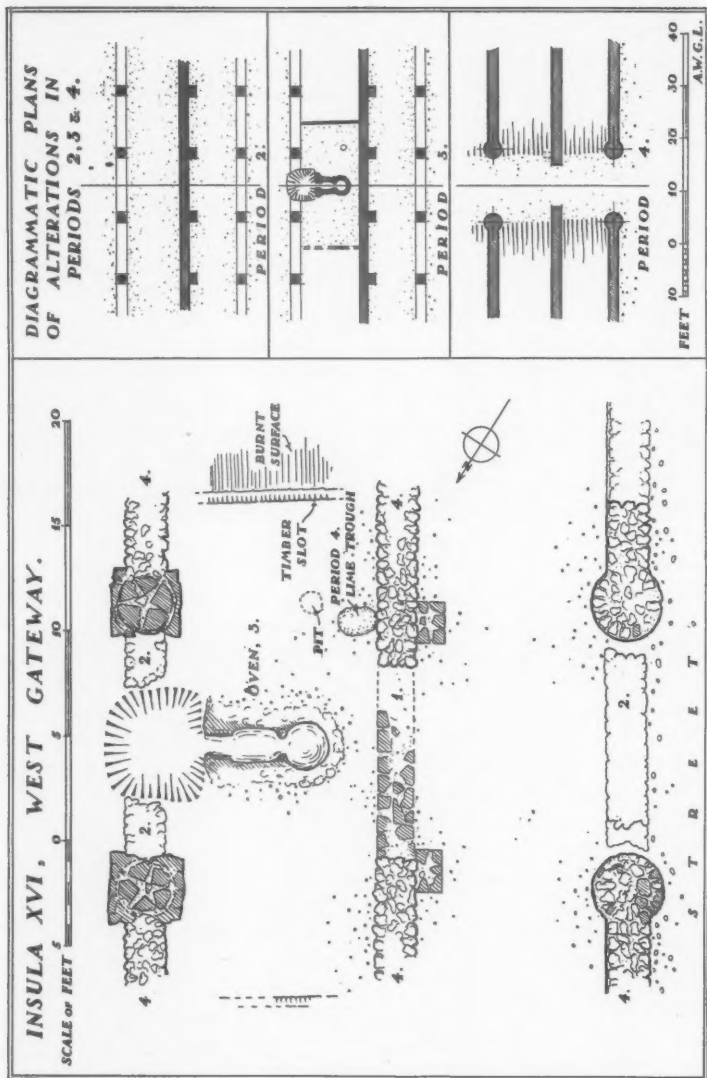


FIG. 1. Plan of west gateway

gravel ramp (of the same width as the opening) which sloped up from the surface of the courtyard.

The next addition to the structures took place in the centre of the opposite (west) end of the insula. Here an oven (pl. xxii, 2) was constructed in the centre of the inner colonnade. That it was built after the formation of the colonnades is shown by the fact that its 'firing pit' was cut through the inner sleeper wall, which had been broken away to receive it (plan, fig. 1). This oven was constructed in a similar manner to those which were found in the court of the temple, insula VII, but was considerably larger. It measured 6 ft. in length, and consisted of a circular chamber, 2 ft. 3 in. in diameter, fed by a flue entering it on the side towards the temple.

It was built into the gravel floor of the inner colonnade to a depth of 1 ft. 6 in. The sides, constructed of pieces of brick and blocks of chalk, were faced on the inside with a clay rendering that had, with the use of the oven, been hardened into a brick lining. The lower part (section, pl. xxv, 3) contained nothing but a thick deposit of charcoal, still preserving the form of billets, several feet in length, with which the oven had been fired. Above this was a filling of building debris (tiles, mortar, etc.), which was very compact and on which lay the 'black' layer (L 1) described later. The debris filling was, therefore, a 'sealed' deposit, and in it was found a late fourth-century coin, a barbarous minim of 'FEL TEMP' type, of which the real type is *c.* A.D. 345-60.

Slots (6 in. wide and 4 in. deep) in the gravel floor on either side of the oven belonged to the period when it was in use, and appeared to mark where timber partitions had stood, and had served to shut it off from the colonnade.

As mentioned earlier in this report, the temenos enclosure was rebuilt at the end of the fourth century (*c.* A.D. 400). The walls of this reconstruction had been built into an existing spread of intensely black material (L 1) in which were found 149 coins,<sup>1</sup> of which the latest are 11 of the House of Theodosius.

All three of the parallel foundations of the colonnades (in-

<sup>1</sup> Coins from the late fourth-century 'black', L 1:

Description.	No. of coins.
Third century and earlier . . . .	34
House of Constantine . . . .	72
House of Valentinian . . . .	22
House of Theodosius . . . .	11
Fourth century (unidentified) . . . .	10
Total	149

cluding the buttressed wall) were found to be overlaid by the foundations of flint-built walls, each being 2 ft. in width. These new walls maintained the plan of the earlier work, but with three main differences:

1. The buttresses to the central wall were dispensed with, and this wall was rebuilt as a flint wall, 2 ft. thick.

2. The east gate was demolished, and the new walls carried across its opening.

3. A new gateway was constructed in the centre of the colonnades at the west end of the insula. Apparently the oven was filled in at this period to allow of this gateway being made.

As mentioned above, the tile-course forming the top of the two sleeper walls had been stripped out prior to this late period of rebuild, and this seems to imply that the colonnades at least (if not the temple) were in a state of ruin when the rebuilding began.

The new walls had been rendered internally with pink brick-mortar, much of which had survived at the west end of the insula. Some of it retained its lime-floated surface, and a 'lime trough' of this period was found, formed into the black spread, at the west gateway.

Externally, they were probably faced with a lime mortar, which, if it was of the same poor quality as that with which these walls were built, would account for its complete disappearance. From their having been plastered, it may be concluded that these walls no longer served merely as sleeper walls, and that, in all probability, they were carried up breast high, with rows of posts, or dwarf columns, to support the roof.

The west gateway (pl. xxiii and fig. 1) was formed with engaged columns (perhaps better described as 'cylindrical terminal pylons') clasping the ends of the inner and outer walls on either side of the opening. The inner pair, constructed of re-used segmental bricks (pl. xxiii, 2), were 3 ft. in diameter; the outer pair, flint built and shaped up with pieces of brick, were 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter, but retained their pink cement rendering, which accounts for the difference in diameter between the two pairs.

The bricks used for building the inner pair were found to fit the brick impressions of the former east gate columns. Thus they are probably the actual bricks obtained by the demolition of the east gate. This conjecture would account for there being insufficient bricks for building both pairs of the new columns, as there appear to have been only two such columns at the east gate. To attain the increased diameter required for the new columns, the bricks were set five to each course, producing a

star-shaped central space, which was roughly filled with pieces of broken brick. The irregularity in the outer surface of the column would have been concealed by its mortar rendering.

The 'black spread', into which this late work was built, appeared to be due to an intentional 'levelling out'. It was heavily charged with carbon, causing its intense blackness. It was uniformly present over the insula, and the most likely suggestion is that it represents the timbers of buildings involved in an extensive conflagration late in the fourth century. As well as the 149 coins of this period obtained from this level, two fragments of bracelets (fig. 2, nos. 4 and 5), identical with two of those found at Lydney, were obtained from it, thus giving additional confirmation to the dating for bracelets of this type.<sup>1</sup> In one place (at the west gate) this level still retained a much broken tile surfacing, which had formed a paving to the outer colonnade.

The 'black spread' thus equates with the 'black filling' found in the theatre orchestra, which had been deposited there when that building was no longer in use. The change-over in the position of the gateway from east to west is therefore given an explanation, since it took place in a period when its former entrance fronted on to a derelict structure, and one that was serving as a receptacle for the refuse of the town.

As regards the temple at this late period, no evidence of any structural alteration was found.

A summary of the sequence of structures and alterations for the buildings in insula XVI is therefore :

1. Late first century. Temple of normal Romano-Celtic plan.
2. Late first or early second century. Buttressed wall enclosing the temenos.
3. c. A.D. 300. The north and south annexes. Inner and outer colonnade. East gateway.
4. Fourth century. The temple oven.
5. c. A.D. 400. Colonnades rebuilt. East gate demolished and west gateway built.

#### *Roof-tiles associated with the Temple*

On the gravel surface, outside the veranda of the original temple, was a layer of debris that contained a large number of fragments of roof-tiles of an unusual type. There is little doubt that they represent part of the original roof-covering of the building, before the addition of the two annexes.

<sup>1</sup> For references to the Lydney and other examples, see under description of finds.

These tiles are of a pale yellow-coloured clay, but have been coated with a red colouring matter on all surfaces, apparently to make them appear like roof-tiles of the usual colour. The colour had been applied (when the tiles were made, or, at any rate, not while they were in use) in the form of a paint, and much of it had worn off their exposed surfaces.

Both tegulae and imbrices of this make were found. In size and shape they are identical with tiles of the ordinary type.

Bricks made of a similar yellow clay had been employed in the construction of the buttressed wall, but all those observed were broken and, apparently, had been re-used. They were associated with bricks of the normal type.

The same type of brick was found, in some quantity, among the brick and flint debris at the temple in insula VII, where it had been inserted as 'filling' in places where the original walls crossed the pre-temple ditch.

At Verulamium, it seems that bricks and roof-tiles of this yellow clay are normally of a late first-century date. The roof-tiles associated with the late fourth-century 'black' level were of a soft, heavily shell-gritted material of a grey colour internally, and red-brown on the outer surfaces. They had the appearance more of the product of a pottery-works than of a brick-field.

As regards the form of roof employed on temples of the Romano-Celtic type, it has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that the roof of the cella was normally of a pyramidal form. A roof of this type would necessitate an immense amount of 'cutting' of individual tiles in order to form the ridge junctions.

In view of this (and the absence of any tiles so cut on the site) a simple 'gable roof' seems to be more probable in this case.

The tiles would, of necessity, be set to a flat pitch, probably not exceeding 15°. The steeply pitched roof of the type depicted on the Hucclecote graffito<sup>2</sup> may quite well represent either a thatched roof, or one with a covering of stone slates.

#### SMALL FINDS (fig. 2)

1. Bronze brooch, of normal first-century type. Pre-temple level (L 4) below the cella.

2. Hanging ornament of bronze, with traces of silvering (or tinning) on the surface. Its form apparently represents a two-handled flagon, with a pelta-shaped object at the bottom. A recessed, circular area in the

<sup>1</sup> 'A "Romano-Celtic" Temple near Harlow, Essex, and a note on the type', by R. E. M. Wheeler, *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 303.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.S.* xxiv, 2, p. 213 and fig. 8.

centre seems to have had some ornamentation affixed there. From the cella, L 3, in debris of the building period.

3. Thin bronze conventional plume (tip of). Part of a votive object of a type frequently found on temple sites (cf. *Lydney Report*, pl. xxix, 137). 'Robber trench' of cella wall.

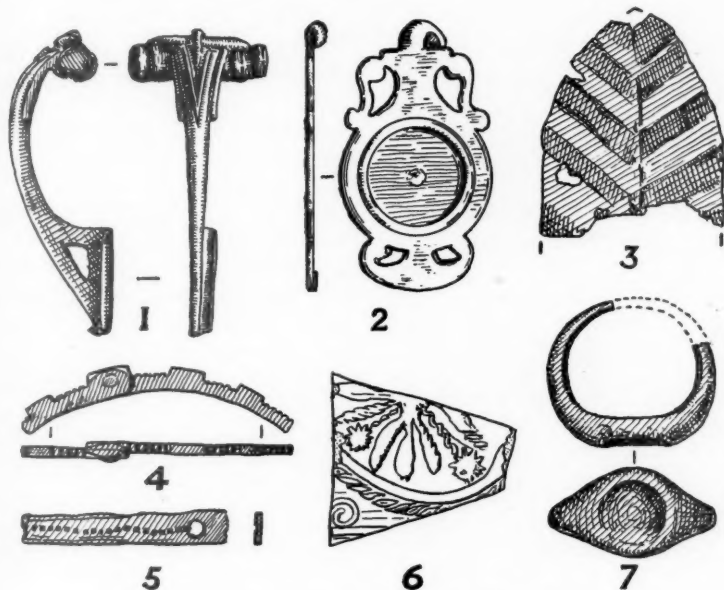


FIG. 2. Small objects from insula XVI (1)

4 and 5. Two fragments (one with rivet, and the other with rivet-hole) of bronze bracelets of late fourth-century type. Two of identical forms are among those figured out of the 270 preserved at Lydney Park (viz. *Lydney Report*, fig. 17, no. 58 and 1). A similar example, recently found with a fourth-century burial at Bloxham, Oxfordshire, is figured in *J.R.S.* xxiv, 2, p. 206, fig. 4.

Found in the late fourth-century level ('black', L 1) at the west gateway.

7. Iron finger-ring, swelling to a circular bezel. Pre-temple level (L 4) below cella.

#### POTTERY

Fig. 2, no. 6. Samian. Fragment of Drag, form 29, with part of the decoration of the lower panel. Examined by Dr. Pryce and reported Vespasianic. From the foundation-trench of the cella wall.

Fig. 3. Beaker (fragmentary, height conjectural) of thin, hard buff ware, with rouletted and finely-scored lattice decoration. Surfaced with

a thin, transparent slip, that ceases just inside the lip. A first-century Claudian type. From the gravel 'make-up' (L 1 and L 2) forming the basis of the original floor to the cella.

#### 'MUSEUM SITE'

Work on this site (fig. 4) became necessary owing to the proposal of building a museum and subsidiary building upon it.

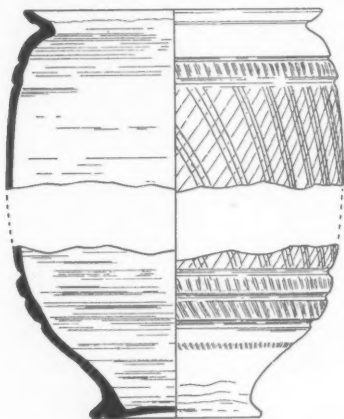


FIG. 3 Insula XVI (temple). Beaker from below floor of cella ( $\frac{1}{3}$ )

The area was previously occupied by the barns and out-buildings of St. Germain's Farm, and the remains of these buildings, as well as disturbance of the site during the existence of the farm, added considerably to the difficulty of the work. Excavation was begun at the north end of the site, and extended towards the south, being restricted to the area which will be covered by the new buildings (plan, pl. xxvi).

The northern end of this area was found to be occupied by the intersection of Watling Street with the east-west road, and contained the east corner of the forum buildings of insula XII. The central and southern part of the site was occupied chiefly by the continuation of Watling Street (maintaining the alignment of the sector between the theatre and the north gate) and by a building fronting on to it from insula XIII, on the west side of the road.

Within the limits of the site it was found possible, at several points, to establish the frontage of buildings situated on the east side of Watling Street.

#### *Insula XII, Forum buildings*

The walls of the original structure were found to overlie a metalled road, which consisted of a two-foot depth of compact gravel and sand metalling, and rested directly on the natural clay-gravel subsoil (section, fig. 5, L 4 and L 4A). A thin deposit of burnt material, found, in places, on the surface of this road, contained some pieces of first-century pottery. Over this were layers of earthy gravel, deposited to raise the ground-level, and



into which the original walls had been built. A further depth of this gravel 'make-up' had been spread between the walls above foundation-level (i.e. concealing part of the 'free-built' masonry).

Of the original structure parts of the external south and east

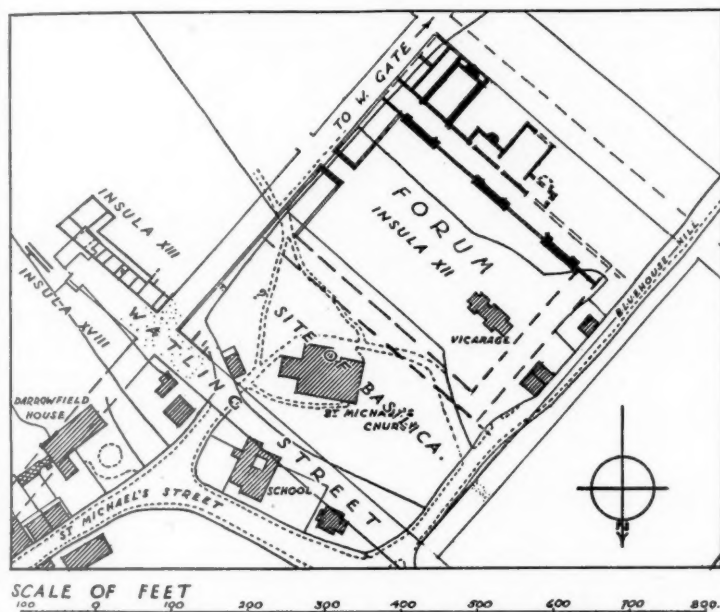


FIG. 4. Plan of sites excavated in the neighbourhood of the Forum

walls were exposed, and part of three rooms (numbered 1-3 on plan). The south external wall was found to be 3 ft. 6 in. in width, considerably wider than any of the others, that fronting on to Watling Street being only 2 ft. in width. The walls had been well built, with brick quoins and bonding junctions for internal and external walls. Most of this brickwork had been robbed out, but sufficient remained to show the method of construction. Where the brickwork bonded with the courses of flint, the tiles were laid in oversailing courses (pl. xxiv). It is probable that the east wall was entirely brick-built, the nature of the robbing tending to confirm this supposition.

The rooms had a sequence of overlying floors, and a secondary wall (enlarging room 3 at the expense of room 2) had been

SECTION A - B  
INSULA XIII, BUILDING I.

Archaeological plan of Section A-B, Building I, Insula XIII. The plan shows a long, narrow structure with various rooms and features. Key features include a 'COW-SHED' at the top left, a 'WATERPIT' and 'POUD MITH.' at the bottom left, and a 'MODERN FLOOD' at the top right. The plan is divided into several sections, with labels for '1st CENTURY' and '2nd CENTURY' buildings. Dimensions are given in feet (L.F.) and meters (M.). The plan also shows a 'ROAD' and a 'WALL'.



FIG. 5. Sections on museum site

introduced at a level well above that of the earlier floors. Another secondary feature was the buttress added to the external angle, on the side of Watling Street.

Room 2 had the best-preserved sequence of overlying floors, the lowest of which (L 6) consisted of a spread of pebble-mortar of irregular thickness. It is likely that it was merely a 'building spread', and the *opus signinum* floor (L 4) with its underlying pebble basis (L 5) appears to have been the original floor to this room in period 1. In room 1 there is a similar 'building spread' (L 2), but no true floor had survived. Beneath this *opus signinum* floor were found a few pieces of early second-century pottery, while in L 3 the debris lying on its surface were coins of Hadrian and of Faustina I.

Again, of the floors dating after the insertion of the secondary wall, the underlying one (L 2) appears to have been merely a building spread. The lime-surfaced mortar (L 1A), originally tessellated, as the quantity of displaced tesserae showed, formed the floor of this room in period 2, after a drastic rebuilding.

Unfortunately the surviving area of the later floor was small, and nothing sealed by it was discovered to determine the date of this rebuilding. In places the faces of the walls between the upper and lower floor showed evidence of intense burning, the flints being cracked and discoloured by fire.

The foundations of the secondary wall were composed largely of blocks of re-used building-stone.

Between the outer east wall and the metalling of Watling Street was a mortar paving, 11 ft. in width, that had originally been continuous along the outside of the building, but of which only discontinuous patches had survived. This paving, consisting of pebble- and lime-mortar concrete finished with a smooth surface, had been renewed with an overlying spread of a similar material. A thin earthy layer separated the two pavements. Between them, at one point, a coin of Commodus was found in this earthy layer.

Timber pipes, or drains, had been inserted on both sides of the east-west road, at a depth of 4 ft. from its surface, the metalling having been cut back for their insertion and the trenches filled in as soon as the pipes were in place. The cast impressions at the bottom of these cuttings showed the original timbers to have measured 12 in. by 9 in., and to have been laid with a fall to the east. The filling-up material (L 2 on section) consisted of a dark, sandy soil, containing a considerable amount of pottery (in which folded beakers of New Forest ware predominated), and a coin of Tetricus I found together with this pottery implies

a late third-century date for the insertion of these timber pipes or drains (pl. xxiv, 2).

The width of metalling for Watling Street in this sector was found to be 31 ft., and for the east-west road to be 32 ft. A part of the latter was cleared down to the surface of the metalling, exposing a series of deep grooves (wheel ruts?) in its surface. The maximum surviving depth of metalling measured 2 ft. 6 in., and consisted of a very compact mixture of sand and gravel, containing some large flints. No datable material was obtained from the road metal in any of the sections.

The whole of the part of insula XII lying within the limits of this excavation was uncovered, and it is understood that part of this will be left open.

#### *Insula XIII, Building 1*

A series of cross trenches established the presence of an L-shaped building in the angle between Watling Street and the east-west road, but it was only possible to investigate that part of it which fronted on to Watling Street.

This building was found to consist of a range of rooms having a connecting corridor, 7 ft. in width, on the side farthest from the road. Underlying room 12, part of a building of 'wattle-and-daub' construction was found. The remains were fragmentary, and consisted of part of an *opus signinum* floor and some charred timbers. The underlying material, sealed by this floor, contained some late first-century pottery, while the overlying heavily burnt debris layer (L 2A) contained a large amount of early second-century pottery, Samian and coarse ware, mainly discoloured by the action of fire. It appears that this layer represents the levelled out debris from these earlier buildings, and it consisted largely of pieces of 'daub', burnt to the colour and hardness of soft red brick. Owing to the depth at which they lay and their fragmentary nature, no plan could be made of these early second-century wattle-and-daub structures.

The layer of burnt debris was found to extend over the whole area of insula XIII examined, and the foundations of the later corridor building had been dug into it. The only stratified coin from this layer was a much worn 2Æ of first-century type, but the dating evidence of the pottery found in it showed conclusively that it was not earlier than c. A.D. 120.

The second-century corridor building (XIII, 1) showed evidence of two periods of construction. The south end of the building (rooms 1, 2, and 3) belonged to period 1, and appeared to have been linked up with the main structure, when the latter

was built in period 2. The evidence of the pottery found showed, however, that both periods 1 and 2 are of second-century date. That these buildings were erected at a date subsequent to that of the Forum building in insula XII was suggested by the fact that their Watling Street frontage is in exact alignment with that of the forum building. They appear to have been laid out on a sighting line taken from the front wall of the forum building.

The south (period 1) end of the building had apparently consisted of a two-roomed structure with its main axis somewhat oblique to that of the road frontage. The build of its walls was superior to that of the walls of period 2. Room 1 has an original *opus signinum* floor, with quarter-round moulding against its walls. Pompeian-red colour decoration remained on the wall-plaster. Two parallel slots marked where some timber construction had been inserted in its floor, prior to the alterations of period 2, as was shown by one of them being covered by a surviving piece of the secondary floor (also of *opus signinum*).

A timber partition had separated rooms 1 and 2 in period 1, but was dispensed with in period 2, when the flint wall between rooms 2 and 3 was inserted.

Of the period 2 work, the partition walls of rooms 4 to 11 (built independently of the walls against which their ends abut) were aligned more and more obliquely the nearer they approached to the period 1 building. Apparently this was done in an effort to overcome the difference between the east-west axis of the period 1 building and that of the new work, dictated by the axis of the east-west road.

The presence of the barn over rooms 4 and 5 made excavation impossible at this point, so that the existence of these two rooms is conjectural.

Room 9 retained two patches of its original tessellated floor; the floors of the other rooms had been destroyed by post-Roman disturbance.

#### *Insula XVIII, Building 1*

Two trenches were dug on the east side of Watling Street, and revealed the foundation-walls forming the west frontage of building XVIII, 1. These foundations, covered by 5 ft. of post-Roman accumulation, consisted of the front wall, 2 ft. 4 in. wide, with part of a 2-ft. partition-wall. At a distance of 5 ft. from the front wall was a tile-built foundation that, conjecturally, may be the sleeper wall of a colonnade. In its construction it resembles the tile-built sleeper wall of the temple in insula VII.

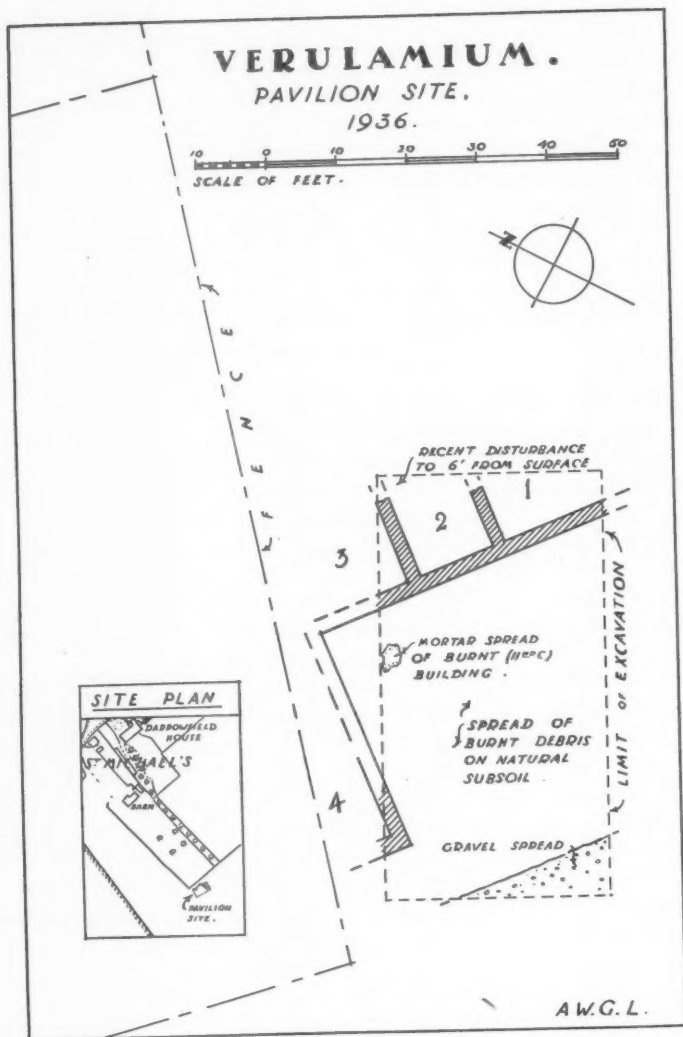


FIG. 6

No stratified material, suggesting a date for the building, was discovered, but its construction was similar to that of the period 1 work of building XIII, 1.

The overall width for Watling Street, as measured between the frontages of buildings XVIII, 1, and XIII, 1, was found to be 43 ft.

#### PAVILION SITE (1936)

The area investigated, measuring 32 ft. by 60 ft., is shown on the plan (fig. 6).

The only structural remains appear to have formed part of an L-shaped building, for which no contemporary stratified levels now remain. Except at one point, only the lowest, foundation, courses of flints survived, the building having been extensively robbed (pottery showed the robbing to be as late as the seventeenth century).

The building was later than the first decade of the second century, since its foundations were built into a debris layer (of burnt wattle-and-daub building refuse) which contained Hadrianic pottery. No stratified coins were found on the site (only one unstratified coin, a 3 *Æ* of Carausius).

At one point on the site, a 'mortar spread' of indeterminate extent, underlying the debris layer, implied early second-century buildings, as in the case of the Museum Site.

A gravel spread, crossing one corner of the site, seemed to belong to a paved area (? yard) of the later building period, but it could not be investigated beyond the limits of the site.

The orientation of the building found on this site suggests that the 'continuation' of Watling Street, as discovered on the Museum Site, probably extended at least as far as this building.

#### SMALL FINDS (fig. 7)

1. Bronze brooch of 'applied' type. The ornamental front-plate bears, in relief, the design of a man running beside a horse. The technique of this brooch is similar to that of Saxon applied brooches. Found, unstratified, in insula XIII.

2. Bronze handle of ring type. Found among the burnt debris layer (L 2A) overlying the wattle-and-daub building in insula XIII.

#### POTTERY FROM INSULAE XII AND XIII (figs. 8-11)

Only a few examples, selected from the pottery found, are described in this report.

##### *Samian (Decorated)*

The one piece figured (fig. 7, 3; rim of a bowl of form 29) is from insula XIII, L 7 (sect. A-B), the 'dark earthy silt' underlying the wattle-and-daub building. It ante-dates the period of the first structures in insula XIII.



It is figured and described by Mr. J. A. Stanfield as follows :

Form 29, upper frieze and rim. High glaze, moulding, and rouletting of rim neatly executed. The design is a divergent scroll, that is, the leaf-bearing tendrils in each concavity of the scroll run opposite ways, in

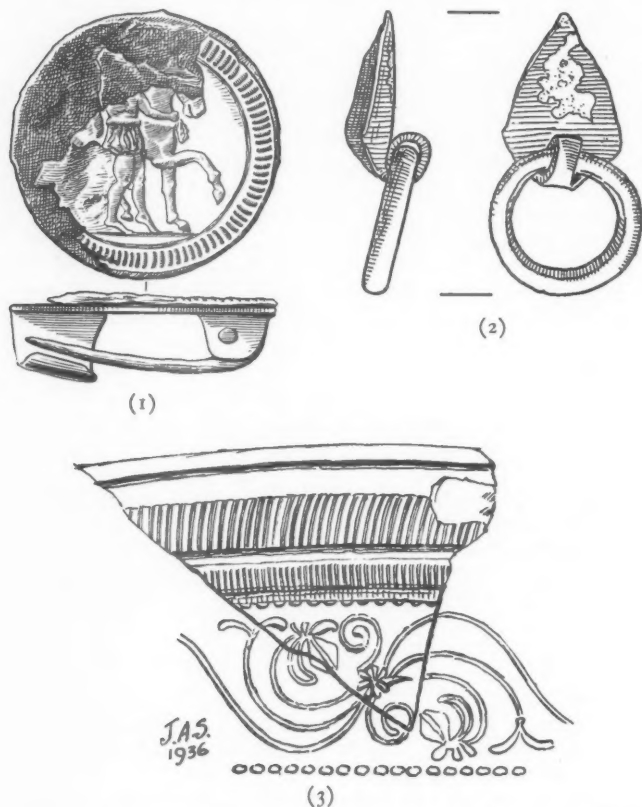


FIG. 7. (1) Bronze applied brooch, insula XIII ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ); (2) Bronze handle, insula XIII, building 1, L 2A ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ); (3) Decorated Samian, insula XIII, L 7, sect. A-B ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

pairs, each pair bound at the junction with two spiral tendrils springing from a rosette. This type of scroll is most usually found in the period Claudius-Nero, and such potters as *AQVITANVS* (F. 29, Colchester, no. 6081/27), *DARIBITVS* (F. 29, Knorr 1919, Taf. 31E), and *INGENVVS* (*Idem*, Taf. 40A) used it, of course with differences in detail. I should think that the present fragment could not be earlier than about A.D. 55 and not later than A.D. 65.

*Samian (Plain)*

1. Insula XII, L 2 (sect. E-F), 'drain filling'. Drag. 35. Thick ware; poor glaze. Late second century. It seems likely that this second-century vessel was in use contemporaneously with the late third-century ware amongst which it was found.

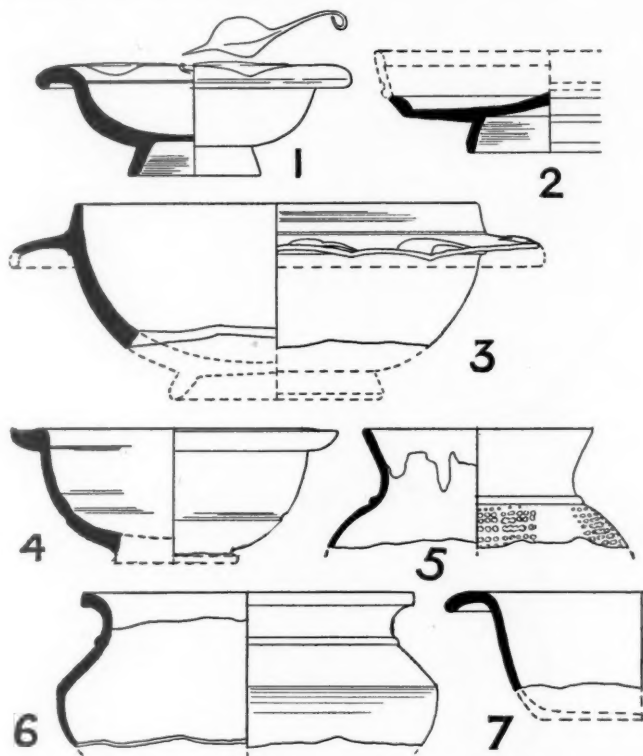


FIG. 8. Pottery from insulae XII and XIII (3)

2. Insula XIII, L 5 (sect. A-B). Drag. 15. Stamp, PRIMI·M. Late first century. Earlier than building XIII, 1.

3. Insula XIII, L 5 (sect. A-B). Curle, 11. Late first, or early second century. Earlier than building XIII, 1.

Not figured. Insula XIII, L 5 (sect. A-B). Drag. 33. Stamp, SΛCIRO. Earlier than building XIII, 1.

*Coarse Ware*

4. Insula XIII, L 5 (sect. A-B). Small bowl of hard buff-coloured ware. An early form of the carinated bowl type. Earlier than building XIII, 1.

5. Insula XIII, L 5 (sect. A-B). Upper part of late first-century beaker of poppy-head type. Grey ware with cream slip. Earlier than building XIII, 1.

6. Insula XIII, L 5 (sect. A-B). Olla with grey slip. Late first century. Earlier than building XIII, 1.

7. Insula XIII, L 5 (sect. A-B). Rim of dish, of brown ware, of late first to early second-century type. Earlier than building XIII, 1.

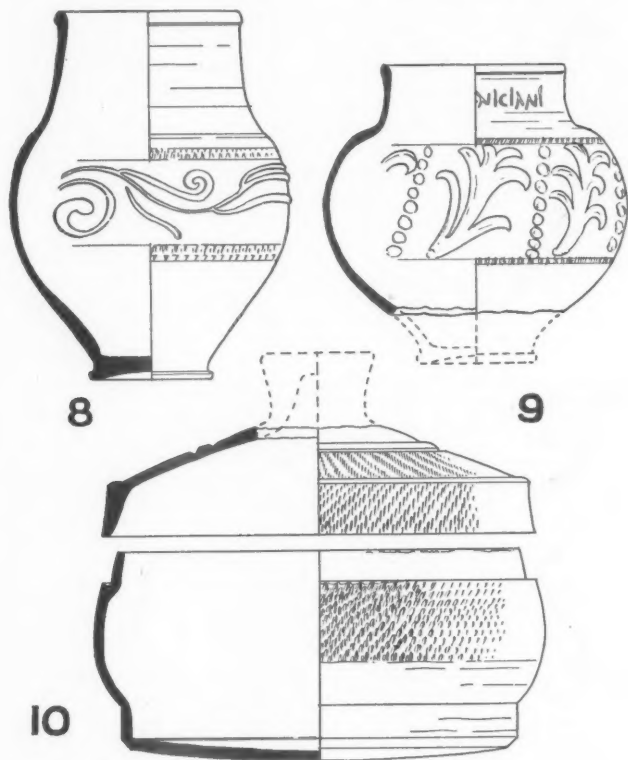


FIG. 9. Pottery from insulae XII and XIII ( $\frac{1}{3}$ )

8-20, are all from insula XII (sect. E-F), the 'dark filling' (L 2) over the timber drain. A coin, 'probably Tetricus', was in this material.

9. White-painted decoration between rouletted bands. Graffito, on neck, —NĪCIANI.

10. Castor-ware box and lid, both with rouletted decoration.

11. Brown colour-coated ware, with decoration in thick white slip.

17. Dish of hard buff-coloured ware.

20. Red ware, with red burnished slip coating.

# EXCAVATIONS AT VERULAMIUM IN 1934 49

N. (L 2) Fragments of folded beakers, of a wide variety of types, predominated in this level.

## COINS

### A. British (Insula XVI only)

*Tasciovanus* :

*Obv.* A ring ornament in the centre of a star formed by two interlacing squares, the whole within a wreath.

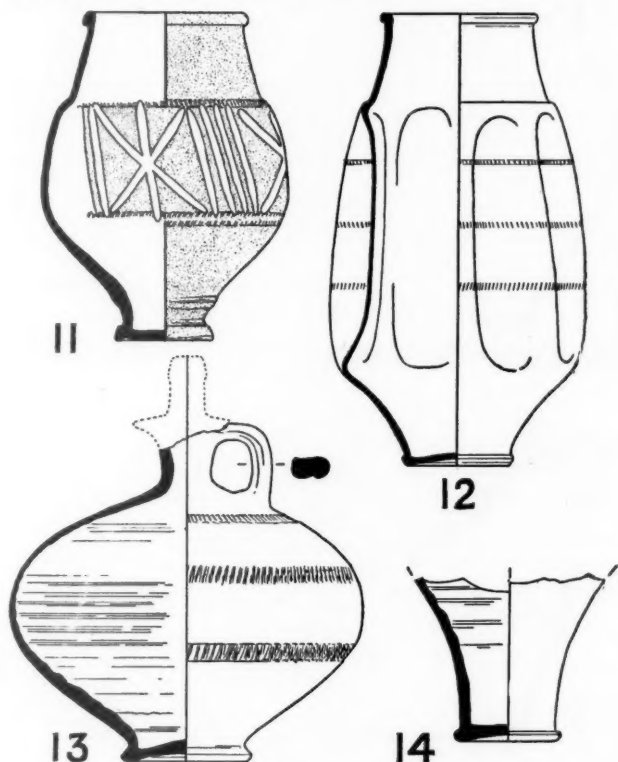


FIG. 10. Pottery from insulae XII and XIII ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

*Rev.* A bull, r. foreleg raised, standing on an exergual line, within a beaded circle.

Æ. J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pl. VII, 4, and p. 254. Cella. Unstratified.

*Cunobelin* :

4. *Obv.* [CV]NOB Naked horseman galloping r., brandishing a carnyx, or dart, in his r. hand (and holding a large oval shield on his l. arm) within a beaded circle.

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F

*Rev.* TASCIIOVAN[TIS] Armed figure standing with a plumed helmet on his head, r. hand resting on a spear, in l., a circular buckler.  
*Æ.* Veranda, L 4.

This coin is figured in the Verulamium Report, pl. LXVI, B, no. 3, but, on p 227, it is wrongly attributed to another part of the site. Nos. 3 and 4 have been transposed.

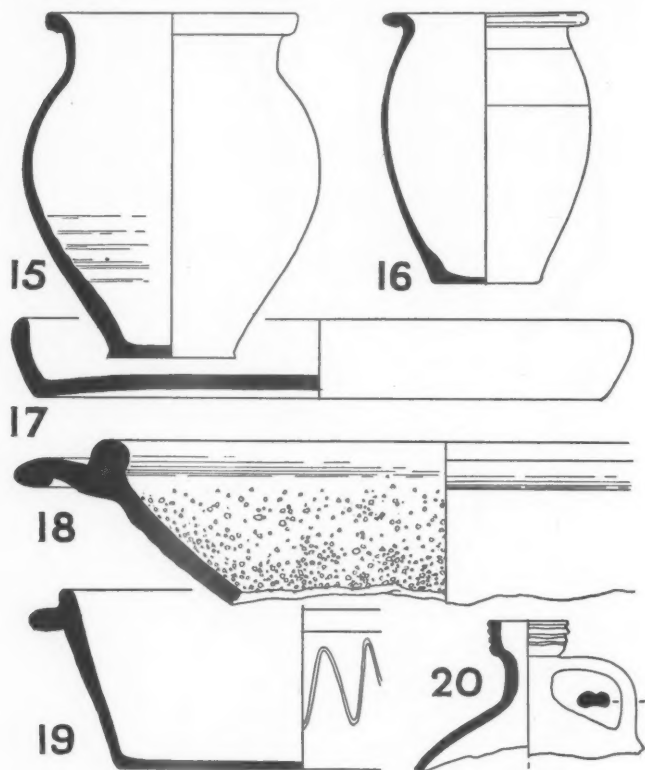


FIG. 11. Pottery from insulae XII and XIII ( $\frac{1}{3}$ )

7. *Obv.* CVNO Pegasus, springing to r., within a beaded circle.

*Rev.* TASC I Winged victory to r., sacrificing a bull, within a beaded circle.

*Æ.* Cella, L 4.

B. Roman

By B. H. St. J. O'NEIL, F.S.A.

The coins in this list (pp. 52-5) comprise all those found, whether stratified or unstratified, during the excavation of insula XVI and of the museum site.

## EXCAVATIONS AT VERULAMIUM IN 1934 51

The writer has to thank Mr. Harold Mattingly for assistance in cases of difficulty.

The reference-numbers for the imperial coins are those of M. & S. (= Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vols. i, ii, iii, and v), unless otherwise marked. C. = Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd ed. From the time of Valentinian I onwards reverse types are given to facilitate references. Numbers in square brackets indicate the number of coins of the particular type. The plus sign (+) following the mint-marks within brackets indicates the number of coins of the particular type of which the mint-marks are illegible. The letters 'var.' following a number indicate that the coin is a slight variant in type from that of the particular reference number and has therefore, apparently, not been recorded previously. Details of such coins will in due course appear in an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

C. *English* (Insula XVI, see p. 28)

Henry III:

*Obv.* HENRICVS REX

*Rev.* ROGER ON CAN

Short cross penny. Lawrence, Class VII, c. 1223-42.

Moneyer, Roger of Canterbury.

TABLE OF ROMAN COINS

Emperor	Date	AR	Æ	References	Total
Claudius I	A.D. 41-54		5	66 [3 and 1 barbarous], 78.	5
Trajan	98-117		1	651.	1
Hadrian	117-38		5	849 + 2 <i>Sestertii</i> and 2 <i>Aesses</i> (1 doubtful) illegible.	5
Antoninus Pius	138-61	? 1	4	934 [2], + 1 <i>Sestertius</i> and 1 <i>As</i> illegible and 1 barbarous <i>Denarius</i> (? Ant. Pi.).	5
Faustina II	Died 175		2	(under Marcus Aurelius) 1642, 1647.	2
Commodus	180-92	1		172.	1
? Septimius Severus	193-211	1		Illegible (plated).	1
Caracalla	198-217	1		C. 542.	1
Geta	209-12	1		C. 68.	1
Elagabalus	218-22	1		Not in C. IMP ANTONINVS] PIVS AVG., P M T R P[OT]? COS II P P Emp. sig. 1., sacrificing over altar. <i>Antoninianus</i> (plated).	1
<i>All Antoniniani.</i>					
Maximin I	235-8		C. 84.		1
Gordian III	238-44		C. 298.		1
Trebonianus Gallus	251-3		C. 88.		1
Gallienus	260-8 (Sole)		193, 249 (Z), 256 (Δ), 270 (illeg.).		4
Claudius II	268-70		171 (S), 261/2, 266 [2].		4



Claudius II	268-70	171 ( $\frac{1}{S}$ ), 261/2, 266 [2].	4
Aurelian	270-5	245 ( $\frac{1}{[*]T}$ ).	1
Postumus	258-67	64, 143 var. ( $\frac{1}{AVG}$ ).	2
Victorinus	268-70	61, 75, 78, 114 (* [2]), 115 (P semi-barbarous).	6
Tetricus I	270-3	79/80, 87/8 [2], 106, 121 or 126, 130-3, 136, ? 140, and 1 ? <i>Hilaritas</i> type.	9
Tetricus II	270-3	248 [2], 258, 267, 270 [2], 270 or 272.	7
Carausius	287-93	? 101 ( $\frac{?}{ML}$ ), 783 ( $\frac{1}{\text{hatched}}$ ), + 1 Pax type with illeg. obverse, 1 (Bust 5A) <i>Pax Aug.</i> with <i>Laetitia</i> stg. 1. holding wreath and anchor, and 1 <i>Pax</i> type overstruck on coin of Carinus (? M. & S. 150 or similar). Including 1 ? Tetricus I <i>Laetitia</i> type and 1 ? Tetricus I <i>Spes</i> type.	5
Radiate Crowns	253-96	These will be dealt with fully later in <i>Num. Chron.</i> by Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland	5
Barbarous Radiates			13
Constantine I	306-37	<i>All Æ except where specified.</i> C. 20 (PTR*), 256 (TRS [2]), ? 454 ff. (illeg.), 530 ( $\frac{SIP}{MLN' ATR}$ TIF), 534 ( $\frac{TIF}{PLN}$ ), 536 ( $\frac{TIF}{PLN}$ ), 635 (PLN, PLG), ? 636 var. [obv. leg. ending C] (PTR), 638 (PTR), 677 var. [no PF in obv. leg.] (illeg.), 760 (illeg.).	14
Constantinopolis	330-7	C. 21/2 (PCONST, TR-P, TR-S, TR, P + 1).	6
Urbs Roma	330-7	C. 17/18 (TRP, TRP*, TR-S, ? TR-S, TRS, TRS* [2], PLG, P[LG], * + 1).	11
Helena	Died 328	C. 4 (TRP [2] + 1).	3

TABLE OF ROMAN COINS (continued)

Emperor	Date	References	Total
Constantine II	A.D. 317-40	C. 113 (TRS), 114 (illeg.).	2
Constantius II	324-61	C. 46 (TRP + 1), similar but without DN on obverse (?TR, ?CON, both semi-barbarous), 92 (*TRP, *TRP, TRS), 104 (TR·S), 293 ( $\frac{D}{TRS} + 1$ ).	10
Constans	333-50	C. 21 (TRP, TRS), 22 (TRPS), 46 (R*P), 50 (?TRS), 54 ( $\frac{1}{1}$ ), 76 (SCON), 179 ( $\frac{1}{TRP} + 1$ ).	9
Constantius II or Constans	340-61	Fel. Temp. Reparatio (?TCON, CON, * + 14), barbarous same type 25 (3 doubtful), 2 victories type ( $\frac{1}{1}$ ).	43
House of Constantine		Gloria Exercitus, Two standards 2 illegible, One standard (PLG, M O TR [semi-barbarous]), 1 with type illegible (DN CO . . .).	7
Magnentius	350-3	Two victories type 1 illegible and semi-barbarous, and 1 quite illegible but head bare.	2
Valentinian I	364-75	Gloria Romanorum ( $\frac{OF II}{CON*}$ , $\frac{OF II}{CONST}$ , $\frac{OF II}{LVGS}$ , $\frac{OF II}{LVGS}$ ), Securitas Reipublicae ( $\frac{1}{SMAQ}$ ), OF II + 1.	7
Valens	364-78	Gloria Romanorum ( $\frac{OF II}{CON}$ , $\frac{OF II}{CON}$ , $\frac{OF II}{CONST}$ ), Securitas Reipublicae ( $\frac{1}{TRP}$ , $\frac{OF II}{SCON}$ , $\frac{OF II}{LVGP}$ ), OF II [4], [SMAQ] + 1.	14

467-82	Gloria Novi Sacculi $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{OF III} \\ \text{CON} \end{array} \right) [2]$	Gloria Romatorum $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{OF II} \\ \text{CON} \end{array} \right) [2]$	Securitas
6			

Gratian . . .	367-83	<i>Gloria Novi Saeculi</i> (TCON [2], OF III), <i>Gloria Romanorum</i> (OF II LVGS, OIF II LVGS), <i>Securitas Reipublicae</i> (OF II LVGP).	6
House of Valentinian I . . .	364-83	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i> (D SMAQS [? Val. I and a new mint-mark], OF [ ] + 2), <i>Securitas Reipublicae</i> , 1 illegible.	5
Theodosius I . . .	379-95	<i>Salus Reipublicae</i> 1 illegible, <i>Victoria Auggg</i> [single victory] (S[CON]).	2
Arcadius . . .	383-408	<i>Salus Reipublicae</i> 1 illegible, <i>Victoria Auggg</i> [single victory] 1 illegible.	2
House of Theodosius I . . .	388-95	<i>Salus Reipublicae</i> 3 illegible and 2 doubtful, <i>Victoria Auggg</i> [single victory] (PCON + 2).	8
Minimi . . .		1 each possibly radiate and diademed head.	2
Illegible . . .		Including 1 ? radiate, 1 ? Fel. Temp. R., 1 ? House of Val. I, 3 ? House of Thes. I. Remainder probably fourth-century types.	17
Grand Total			252

Of the total of 252 coins from this site only 82 (or about 32 per cent.) are earlier than the fourth century A.D. In this respect this list differs from that of site A, where there is a preponderance of third-century (radiate) issues. The coins in bulk thus support the contention that the city shrank within its walls during the last century of Roman rule, occupation being continuous in the centre, but sporadic or non-existent in more distant parts. The paucity of issues after the Valentinian dynasty, which is usual at Verulamium, is again noticeable.

## *Lochaneilean Castle, Inverness-shire*

By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.Litt., Local Secretary for Scotland

THIS survey of Lochaneilean Castle was conducted in April 1935 on behalf of the Inverness Field Club, by which the expenses were defrayed. I gratefully acknowledge the warm interest shown in the undertaking by the Council of the Club, and the assistance which I received, in making the survey, from Dr. John Craig, F.S.A.Scot., and Mrs. Craig. The laird of Rothiemurchus, Lieut.-Col. John P. Grant, M.C., T.D., D.L., M.A., LL.B., Sheriff-substitute of Inverness, Elgin, and Nairn, kindly placed a boat and boatman and ladders at our disposal, and had the overgrowth removed from the ruins before our visit.

The first business of our expedition was to determine, if possible, whether or not the island on which the castle is built is a crannog. For this purpose the basin of the lake, to a distance of about 70 yds. all round the island, was roughly surveyed. It was seen that the bottom everywhere slopes more or less gently outward and downward from the shores of the islet, except on the narrow side between the entrance front and the land, where there is a shallow area not more than 12 ft. deep. While the evidence is not conclusive, the gradual slopes suggest that the island is not artificial, as a pile dwelling—even allowing for a good deal of silting throughout the centuries—would tend to show a fairly abrupt descent into the bed of the lake.

The ruins of the castle (fig. 1) are of small extent, and it can never have been an imposing structure, or distinguished in an architectural sense. But it is of interest because the remains still clearly show the work of five successive building periods, and because these seem to be the result not of haphazard addition or alteration, but of a consequential development of the site up to the full limit of its restricted possibilities.

The nucleus of the castle (see plans, fig. 2) clearly is the strong oblong tower at its north-western corner. This tower measures 32 ft. 9 in. by 27 ft. 9 in., over walls in general about 6 ft. thick. Only two stories remain, the loftiest portion of the walls attaining a height of about 26 ft. The basement has a plain barrel vault, about 9 ft. high, of which the northern part has fallen. There is now nothing to show how it was entered. In the west wall is a loophole, with splayed ingoing, arched into the haunch of the vault; and in the south wall near the east end is a small rough

## LOCHANEILEAN CASTLE, INVERNESS-SHIRE 57

aumbry. There is another aumbry at the west end of the north wall. The first floor is reached by a stair that has started from the gate in the north curtain wall, and, curving round in the north-eastern angle of the tower, ascends in the thickness of its eastern wall. This stair, very steeply and irregularly constructed, is only about 2 ft. broad, and twenty-four steps remain. It gave access to the hall on the main floor by a door at the north-east



FIG. 1. Lochaneilean Castle, from west

corner, and was continued up to the story above, and doubtless to the battlements. The hall has measured about 22 ft. by 15 ft. 8 in. It contains in its south wall a fireplace, 7 ft. 4 in. wide, of which the lintel is gone; there is a small aumbry on either side. In the west wall were two windows, of which the southern has an arched bay, and the northern, now greatly destroyed, had a bay lintelled over, with an aumbry in the south cheek. On the east side of the hall is another large window, with an arched bay.

Contemporary with the tower must be the north curtain wall, of which the lower portion, 5 ft. 3 in. thick, is embodied in the gable end of a lodging later erected along the east side of the close. Near the tower remains of a gate exist in the curtain; and the way in which the tower stair, which starts from the postern, is common both to the tower and to the curtain, clearly proves the contemporary date of both. How the curtain wall was continued round the site in the original scheme it is now impossible to say; but the scarcement, about 1 ft. in breadth, along the gable of the lodging, which seems to mark the limit of the old work in the height of the gable, is carried also along the east wall

of the lodging—so that it is probable that this wall is likewise built upon the foundations of the old curtain.

The first addition to the castle buildings seems to have been a hall, lying east and west at a distance of about 33 ft. south from the tower. The hall measured 28 ft. 3 in. by 14 ft., within walls 4 ft. 8 in. thick. It was on the first floor, with an unvaulted basement below. The wooden floor rested not on joist-holes, nor on a scarcement or corbels, but in a chase let into the walls, a rather unusual and unsatisfactory mode of construction. Only the north wall and the east gable remain to an appreciable height, and the interior of the hall is now a mass of ruins. In the basement of the north wall is a door, placed centrally, and to the east of this a large aumbry, or wall-press, lintelled and chased for a wooden shelf, while west of the door is a much shattered window. In the hall itself there have been windows at either end of the north wall. The west one retains its western jamb (with an aumbry in the ingoing) and part of the lintel, both carefully wrought in limestone with a  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. chamfer. This window has been 5 ft. 4 in. high. The east window also has an aumbry. In the west gable are remains of a third large window, so that the hall was certainly a very well-lit apartment. This gable and the east end of the north wall still survive to a height of about 25 ft.

The space between the old tower and this hall was later closed by a curtain wall 5 ft. thick. This forms the third building period of the castle. We may refer to it as the fore-curtain. It abuts without bond against the quoins both of the tower and the hall. Midway in it is the entrance, a lintelled door 5 ft. 5 in. high and 2 ft. 8 in. in width, the jambs and lintel carefully wrought in limestone and carrying a  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. chamfer. The portal is checked for a door which was strengthened by a draw-bar, received into the north jamb. The passage piercing the wall is arched, and on the south side is the usual small aumbry. Externally the door has later been fitted with a kind of projecting cage, as appears from a hole bored in the central part of the lintel and threshold. Probably this construction was modern. No traces of putlog holes or scarcement for a floor are now visible on the inside of the fore-curtain; but it was evidently prepared to receive buildings (probably wooden), for there is a large plain lintelled fire-place over the door, and to the north of it is a well-formed garderobe chamber, with loophole and aumbry; it is entered through a gible-checked door, carefully executed in limestone. The fore-curtain remains to a height of 20 ft. on the water-ward side, or 18 ft. on the courtyard side, and shows the footing of a parapet wall 1 ft. 6 in. thick, rising flush from the outer face.

## LOCHANEILEAN CASTLE, INVERNESS-SHIRE 59

At a still later period (fourth work) an annexe was built within the fore-curtain, abutting against the south gable of the old tower and extending its full breadth. This annexe forms a building measuring 19 ft. 2 in. in length and 11 ft. in breadth, within walls 2 ft. 9 in. thick. Only the barrel-vaulted basement, 9 ft. high, remains, and probably no more was built. It is entered

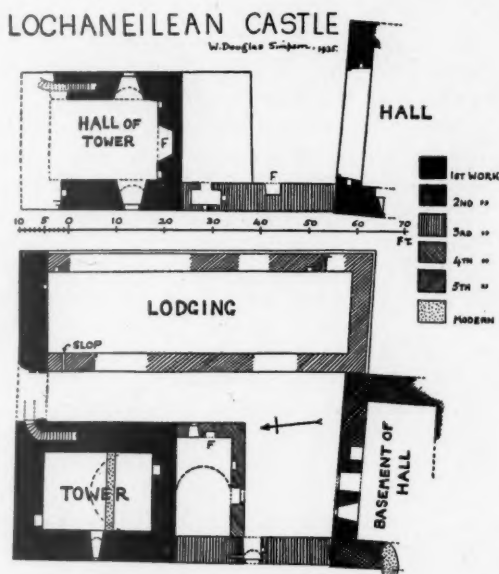


FIG. 2. Lochaneilean Castle: plans

by a door on the south side, which has been lintelled and shows limestone jambs with a  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. chamfer. In the same wall is a small aumbry, and in the east gable are a fireplace and a window. From these circumstances, and also because of its proximity to the main entrance, it is likely that this vaulted chamber formed the guard-house or porter's lodge. The vault very clearly shows the marks of the boarding used to centre it.

Latest of all in date (fifth period) is a long narrow lodging, built on the east margin of the island. It measures about 64 ft. in length and 16 ft. in breadth, and has contained only one story, with perhaps a garret overhead. Its north gable, and apparently (as we have seen) the east wall as well, are built upon the foundations of the old curtain. The north gable is fairly intact, and is about 15 ft. in height: it does not seem to have been



crow-stepped. In addition to the scarcement already referred to in connexion with the curtain, there is an upper scarcement not so bold. The east wall and the south gable are almost destroyed, but the west or courtyard wall still survives in a piecemeal condition. It is 3 ft. 2 in. thick, and shows a slop drain and a door near the north end, with remains of at least one window to the south. In the opposite wall, at the south end, are a window and an aumbry, and at the north-west corner are two aumbries, in the north gable and the west wall respectively.

The masonry of the tower is very massive and large in texture, well coursed and with few pinnings. That of the hall is similar but scarcely so massive, though there are occasional large boulders; it shows a freer use of pinnings. The fore-curtain is built of much smaller work and is extensively made up with small, flat, horizontal pinnings, giving a partly striated appearance to the masonry, varied by courses of boulders. The upper portion externally has been re-pointed on some not very distant occasion, which at first sight gives an impression that it may be of more recent date. The masonry of the guardroom annexe much resembles that of the fore-curtain, but shows a greater admixture of boulders. Poorest of all is the masonry of the lodging, which is random rubble of a very nondescript character; and it alone has not been laid in grout, the hearting being mainly of clay. Patches of the old harling still exist on the inner face of the fore-curtain and on the north front of the hall.

As to dates: in the absence of really distinctive architectural detail, it is, of course, impossible to speak very definitely, all the more so in dealing with a highland castle. But the tower-house and barmkin plan of the original lay-out came into vogue in Scotland during the fourteenth century, and it is certain that no portion of the ruins is older than this period. The massive construction and simple plan of the tower, and the style of its masonry, suggest a date probably towards the end of the fifteenth century; the work of the second, third, and fourth periods would follow on during the early part of the sixteenth century, when a heavy plain chamfer is usual in Scotland; while the lodging is probably not earlier than the seventeenth century.

The whole interior of the castle area is now choked with rubbish and overgrowth. At the north margin is a mass of ruins, caused by the fall of this end of the tower. The wreckage extends about 36 ft. to the very edge of the island, and includes great lumps of fallen masonry still cohering. Similar fallen ruins of the hall block are strewn at the other end, and indeed there is one huge mass of prostrate walling still clearly visible under

## LOCHANEILEAN CASTLE, INVERNESS-SHIRE 61

water. These facts, and the way in which the west gable of the hall is tilted forward, at first give rise to the idea that the castle has been blown up by a mine at both ends. But drawings in Colonel Grant's possession, dated 1810, show that at that date the tower was intact. It is therefore more probable that the collapse at either end of the castle has been due to failure in the foundations. Perhaps the island was in part eked out by piling.

The authentic history of Lochaneilean Castle is meagre in the extreme. It has often been stated to have been a stronghold of the Wolf of Badenoch, but there is no evidence that this notorious personage ever owned Rothiemurchus, or that there was a castle on the island at so early a date.<sup>1</sup> The oldest specific reference to it which I have been able to find occurs in the year 1527, when it is stated that James Malcolmson, after the treacherous murder of his kinsman, Lachlan Mackintosh, chief of the Clan Chattan, who then held Rothiemurchus under the bishop of Moray, escaped to the 'island of the lake of Rothiemurchus', where he was captured by the outraged Mackintoshes and, with certain of his accomplices, was put to death.<sup>2</sup> In 1539 the kirklands of Rothiemurchus, with the loch, manor-place, fortalice, etc., were granted by Alan Keir Mackintosh to Master George Gordon of Beldorney, a son of Lord Huntly; and the grant is ratified by the superior, Patrick Hepburn, bishop of Moray:<sup>3</sup> but in this, as in other early writs dealing with Rothiemurchus, there is some doubt whether the manor-place referred to is the castle on the island or the capital messuage of the barony at the Doune. The Gordons remained in a not always unchallenged possession of Rothiemurchus until 1567, when (again with the consent of the bishop-superior) they disposed of it to John Grant of Freuchy (Castle Grant);<sup>4</sup> and in the possession of the Grants it has since remained. The first Grant laird is said to have repaired the castle. In a topographical description of Strathspey, c. 1680, it is reported of Lochaneilean Castle that 'it is usefull to the Countrey in time of troubles or wars: for the people put in their goods and children here, and it is easily defended, being environed with steep Hills and Craigs on each side, except

<sup>1</sup> All the interest that he had in Rothiemurchus was a lease of six davochs of church-land which he obtained from the bishop of Moray in 1383 (*Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, 189-91). Rothiemurchus had been granted by Alexander II to the bishops in 1226—*ibid.* 21-2.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie, *de Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, lib. IX (ed. 1675, 404): cf. Sir Robert Gordon, *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> Charter in possession of Colonel Grant of Rothiemurchus: cf. *Reg. Mor.* 420.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Wm. Fraser, *The Chiefs of Grant*, iii, 384-5.

towards the east'.<sup>1</sup> It is stated to have been attacked after the battle of Cromdale (1 May 1690) by a party of defeated Jacobites, but was successfully defended by the laird's wife, 'Grizel Mor'.<sup>2</sup> With this incident its recorded annals appear to close.

As is well known, until 1902 Lochaneilean Castle was a breeding place of ospreys, and the remains of their nest may still be seen on the west gable of the hall.<sup>3</sup> The remarkable echo obtained from the shore opposite the castle is familiar to every visitor.

<sup>1</sup> *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), iii, 240; cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vi, 145.

<sup>2</sup> H. Macmillan, *Rothiemurchus*, 40.

<sup>3</sup> See J. Ritchie, *Animal Life in Scotland*, 192-3.

## *Double-looped Palstave found at Curland near Taunton*

By H. ST. GEORGE GRAY, F.S.A.

THE bronze palstave here figured was found, in 1934, in digging a hole for a wooden post in the yard of a small holding known as 'Mount Pleasant' in the parish of Curland, 6 miles SSE. of Taunton and about 600 ft. above sea-level. 'Mount Pleasant' is not named on the 6-in. Ordnance Sheet (LXXX, S.W.), but it is the building 530 yards SSE. of Curland Church, and, as the crow flies, it is only 680 yards NNE. of the 'Beacon' of Castle Neroche.<sup>1</sup> The implement was found about 3 ft. deep by the owner of the holding, Mr. D. G. Dicks, who gave it to Dr. Richard A. Fawcus of Chard. Through the instrumentality of Capt. W. S. L. Henderson, Dr. Fawcus presented it to the Somerset County Museum in April 1935, in which collection a similar implement, having two loops (from South Petherton), had been exhibited for many years.

The Curland implement is notable as being one of the few examples having a loop on either side which has been found in Britain. Its length is 168 mm. (about 6½ in.); width at cutting-edge 43 mm.; maximum thickness 37 mm.; weight 490 grams (fig. 1).

The flanges taper from the prominent stop-ridge towards the butt-end. On both faces of the palstave there is a well-defined, tongue-shaped ridge which protrudes from the stop in the direction of the cutting-edge. The fin down the middle of the two sides, caused by the molten bronze pushing its way into the joints of the mould, has not been entirely removed.

Both the cutting-edge and the butt-end have been considerably hammered. In places the bright surface of the bronze indicates 'polishing up' by the finder.

(2) The other Somerset specimen in the Somerset County Museum was found in a field in the parish of South Petherton in 1842, and was presented by the late Dr. Hugh Norris in 1905. It is figured and described in *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* li, 141-3.<sup>2</sup> It should, however, be recorded here that the length

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xlix, ii, 23-53.

<sup>2</sup> Other references are *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xxi, 138; Evans, *Bronze Implements*, 96; *Arch. Journ.* ix, 387; x, 247; xxvii, 230. In *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xxiv, 48, line 35, vol. xxxvii should read vol. xxvii; and in the next line *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* Bristol, p. lxiv, should read *Arch. Inst.*, Bristol vol. (1851), p. lxiv.

of the implement is 169 mm.; width of cutting-edge 40 mm.; weight 495.5 grams.

(3) Another Somerset specimen, that exhibited in the British Museum, was found in 1868 at Cheddar in making the Great

DOUBLE-LOOPED PALSTAVES FOUND IN THE S. AND SW. OF  
ENGLAND, AND IN IRELAND

<i>County (Museum in brackets)</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>Length in mm.</i>	<i>Weight in grams</i>
1. Somerset (Taunton)	Curland, near Taunton	168	490
2. Somerset (Taunton)	South Petherton	169	495.5
3. Somerset (Brit. Mus.)	Cheddar	165	406.21
4. Somerset (Unknown)	West Buckland	6½ in.	—
5. Cornwall (Brit. Mus.)	Penvores, near Mawgan-in-Meneage	168	405.46
6. Cornwall (Truro)	—	151	344
7. Dorset (Ashmolean)	Weymouth	171	395.47
8. Hampshire (Heron Court, Christchurch)	Bournemouth		
9. — (In collection of late Earl of Ducie, Tortworth Ct., Glos.)			
10. Oxfordshire (Reading)	Garsington	163	425.3
11. Ireland (Dublin)	—	6½ in.	—
12. Ireland (Ashmolean)	Ballincollig, Co. Cork	6⅜ in.	475.9

Western Railway line.<sup>1</sup> It was given to the museum by Mr. W. Edkins in 1876. It is not in good condition, and the butt and edge are much worn; it has a wide raised rib between the stop and edge. Its length is 165 mm.; width at edge 41 mm.; weight 406.21 grams (fig. 2).

(4) Another Somerset example was found with a bronze torc,

<sup>1</sup> Figured in 'The Archaeology of Somerset', by Mrs. D. P. Dobson, p. 86. Evans, *op. cit.* 96. This specimen has a dark green patina, and some red metal shows.

a portion of a bronze bracelet,<sup>1</sup> and another celt, in the northern part of the parish of West Buckland, 4 miles WSW. of Taunton, about 100 yards below the G.W.R. bridge which crosses the River Tone, and about 40 yards from the river. 'There were no signs of a tumulus.'

This hoard was in the possession of the late W. Ayshford



FIG. 1. Curland, Som.  
Taunton Museum ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )



FIG. 2. Cheddar, Som.  
British Museum ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

Sanford, of Nynheade Court, for many years, and was inherited by his son, the late Colonel E. C. A. Sanford, C.M.G. Unfortunately it cannot now be traced, although inquiry has been made from the present owner of the Nynheade estates.

Mr. Sanford informed the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1880 that two other celts of the same character(?) as those found at West Buckland were discovered some years ago on

<sup>1</sup> Figured in Evans, *op. cit.* 96 (torc, 377; bracelet, 386); *Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, plate facing p. 107; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 138; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* li, 142; iv, ii, 71. According to the drawing of this palstave it is  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. long.

the top of a low hill called 'Burrows',<sup>1</sup> in the parish of Nynhead, where there are slight indications of earthworks—barely  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the site of the Buckland hoard.<sup>2</sup>

(5) One complete double-looped palstave has been found in Cornwall. It is that discovered in 1871 at Penvores, near Mawgan-in-Meneage, and given to the British Museum by Mr. J. J. Rogers in 1873.<sup>3</sup> This specimen has the edge chipped, and bubble-holes are present, the result of imperfect casting. Its length is 168 mm.; width at edge 41 mm.; weight 405.46 grams.

(6) Another palstave has been found in Cornwall, but its provenance is unknown.<sup>4</sup> It is badly pitted and very much worn; remains of two loops broken and mended; length 151 mm.; width at edge 40 mm.; present weight 344 grams. Truro Museum.

(7) The only Dorset example known to the writer is that found at Weymouth (Arthur Evans Collection, Ashmolean Museum, 1927); length 171 mm.; weight 395.47 grams.

(8) A double-looped palstave was found in June 1894 at Charminster Allotments (near the Indian Hut), Bournemouth, and in 1912 was in the possession of the Earl of Malmesbury, Heron Court, Christchurch.<sup>5</sup> It is well preserved and is patinated.

(9) Another, similar to that from Penvores, was in the collection of the Earl of Ducie at Tortworth Court, Falfield, Glos., but its provenance is unknown. Its length is  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in.; weight 15 oz. A large part of the Ducie collection went to Bristol Museum.

(10) Another, length 163 mm.,<sup>6</sup> was found at Garsington,<sup>7</sup> Oxon., and is now in Reading Museum. It is in fair condition; width at cutting-edge about 37.5 mm.; weight 425.3 grams.

(11), (12) Two examples, at least, are known from Ireland, both of which were exhibited at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries in 1873; one by the Royal Irish Academy, the other by the Rev. Thomas Hugo. The former,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. long, was pre-

<sup>1</sup> On the south side of Nynhead Hollow.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Figured in Evans, *op. cit.* 96; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. v, plate facing p. 398; 'The Archaeology of Cornwall', by H. O'N. Hencken, p. 80, fig. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. v, 398, 430.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* xxiv, 44. Charminster Allotments are to the NNE. of the centre of Bournemouth.

<sup>6</sup> This is  $6\frac{3}{8}$  in.; the length given in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxiv, 48, is  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in. See also *Archaeologia*, lxi, 243.

<sup>7</sup> This celt, together with a socketed and ribbed celt with single loop, were presented to the museum by Mr. J. R. Turrill in 1891.



sented to the Academy by Lord Talbot de Malahide.<sup>1</sup> That originally belonging to Mr. Hugo ( $6\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, weight 475.9 grams) was found in 1854 at Ballincollig, co. Cork,<sup>2</sup> and came into the collection of Sir John Evans (Ashmolean Museum, 1927); it closely resembles the Penvores specimen.

It will be noticed that in nine of these implements the length varies only from  $6\frac{1}{4}$  to  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in. (159 to 171 mm.). The width of

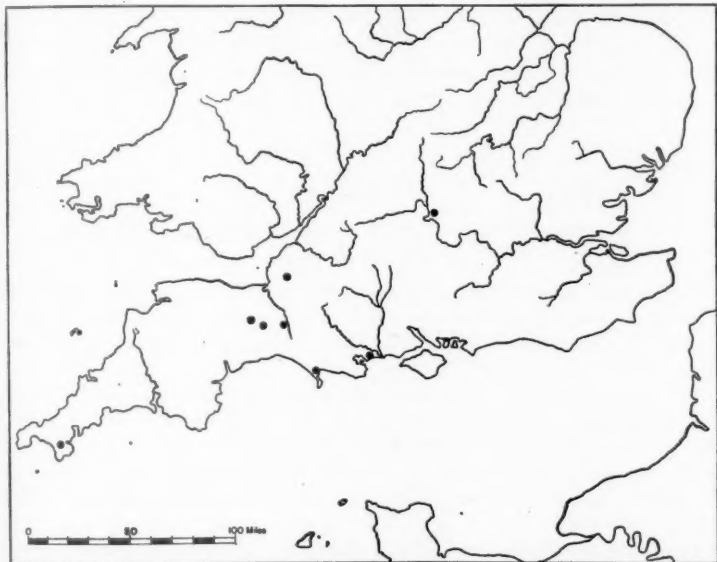


FIG. 3. Map showing the distribution of double-looped palstaves in Britain. Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey outline map by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

the cutting-edge varies, in the measured cases, from 40 to 43 mm.

Mr. Reginald A. Smith, in the British Museum *Bronze Age Guide*, 1920, p. 155, says that the home of the double-looped palstave is uncertain, as examples have been found in Western France (specimen in the British Museum from Herpes, Charente)<sup>3</sup> and from SW. Britain. Certain Spanish

<sup>1</sup> It is figured in the *Arch. Journ.* ix (1852), plate facing p. 195; also in the Bristol vol. (1851) of the *Arch. Inst.* p. lxiv; see also *Arch. Journ.* xxvii, 230; and Wilde's *Catalogue*, 382, fig. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, *op. cit.* 104; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 1st ser. iii, 222; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* li, 143.

<sup>3</sup> Other French specimens are mentioned by Evans, *op. cit.* 97; see also the list in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxiv, 49.

examples<sup>1</sup> are, however, peculiar in having a lump of lead in the cup-shaped butt of the implement.<sup>2</sup> The type occurs also in Portugal.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., has written that the distribution of these double-looped palstaves 'is just what one would expect on geographical grounds, whether directly or indirectly' (fig. 3). Any influence coming from the Iberian peninsula would strike the British coast in Hampshire, Dorset, and farther west, and would easily penetrate into Somerset and Oxon. Their date appears to be in the middle Bronze Age; this is determined to some extent by other objects which have occasionally been found associated with double-looped palstaves.

## APPENDIX

### SOCKETED CELTS WITH TWO LOOPS; AND MOULDS FOR CASTING

(1) A socketed celt was found in a Tartar hut 15 miles NW. of Kerch, S. Russia; exhibited in the British Museum, and figured in *Arch. Journ.* xiv, 91; also xxvii, 230; illustrated also in *Bronze Age Guide*, *Brit. Mus.* 1920, p. 179.

(2) A socketed celt, with two loops, found in Spain, is figured in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxxi, 159, fig. 3, no. 3. M. Siret considered it a rare form, though more often found in Portugal.

(3) Stone mould for casting socketed celt with two loops, found in Anglesey: figured in *Arch. Journ.* iii, 257, and vi, 385; see also xxvii, 230.

(4) Stone mould for casting socketed celt with two loops, from Chidbury Hill, near Everley, Wilts.; formerly in the Rev. E. Duke's collection; exhibited at the Salisbury Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, 1849, and figured in *The Barrow Diggers*, pl. v, p. 78; mentioned in *Arch. Journ.* xiv, 91; xxvii, 230.

<sup>1</sup> Several Spanish examples may be seen in the Greenwell Collection (British Museum). One is figured in the *Arch. Journ.* xxvii, 230. Another, from Andalusia, is figured in the same work, vi, 69, 369, and also in Evans, fig. 89. Others are mentioned in Evans, 97; and one is figured in *Bronze Age Guide*, *Brit. Mus.* 1920, p. 155. Another specimen from Spain is figured in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxxi, 159, fig. 3, no. 6; see also same work, xxiv, 49. Most of them have the blade and tang long and narrow in their proportions.

There is a double-looped palstave (length 197 mm.), from Spain, in Truro Museum; in the Herts. County Museum at St. Albans another specimen from Spain (length 216.5 mm.); and in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford a double-looped palstave (length 221 mm.) from Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> This is discussed by Mr. Reginald Smith in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxxi, 160. He notes that all the palstaves with lead additions have two loops.

<sup>3</sup> See a list in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxiv, 49.

(5) A double mould in syenite, found at Bulford, near Amesbury, Wilts., formerly in the collection of the Rev. E. Duke; sold by auction in London and purchased by General Pitt-Rivers for his museum at Farnham, N. Dorset. Casts from this mould have been taken of a socketed celt with one loop, and another with two loops. Copies exhibited in Somerset County Museum, *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* li, i, 73.

## Notes

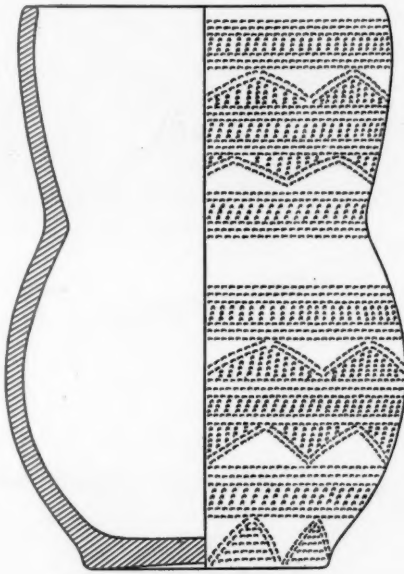
*An oval flint knife.*—The specimen here illustrated is a particularly fine representative of a type that has been studied by our Fellow Dr. Grahame Clark in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia*, vi, 1929-32,



An oval flint knife ( $\frac{3}{4}$ )

41, where they are linked with the Beaker civilization. The discovery was communicated through our Fellow Mr. Stebbing, who submitted the original label, stating that it was found on the site of the new extension to Surrey Dock, December 1895, at about 23 ft. below Trinity High Water (this being 12 ft. 6 in. O.D., the level indicated is 10 ft. 6 in. below O.D.), in gravel overlaid with peat varying up to 6 ft. in thickness, as found in excavating the dock site. This was overlaid with sandy clay and alluvium, and the site is about half a mile from the present bank of the Thames at Rotherhithe. The flint is horny black, flaked on both faces and polished about half-way round the edge (indicated in solid black), the dimensions being 3.1 in. by 2.5 in. The polish is on both faces and the resulting edge might be useful in skinning animals, as it is not sharp enough to cut the hide. The opposite edge, which is carefully chipped, may have been covered with a handle of wood or leather. Two other similar finds may be added to Dr. Clark's list—Challock, Wigtownshire, in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lxiv, 212, and Fursehill, 3 miles S. by E. of Lynton, in *Devon Association Transactions*, xxxviii (1906), 120, the latter being outside the recognized area for this type, which is centred in East Anglia, with others in Scotland.

*A beaker from Leicestershire.*—Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., sends the following note :—The beaker here illustrated is a fine example of Abercromby's type A, with globular body and curved neck. It is 6·7 in. high and 4·7 in. in diameter across the body. The ware is black, with crushed flint grit, and the surface light reddish-brown. The decoration, carefully



Beaker from Leicestershire ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

executed in the usual notched technique, is zonal and repeated on the neck and body. It consists of two bands of chevrons with the spaces filled on the lower and upper sides alternately, and three bands of short vertical lines. There is also a series of triangles filled with horizontal lines round the base.

The history of the beaker, which is now in the Leicester Museum, is as follows. It was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. J. W. C. Bickley, of Melton Mowbray, who bequeathed his collection to the museum, but left no notes as to the locality of his finds. So the exact provenance of the beaker is, unfortunately, not known, but there need be little doubt that it was found in the neighbourhood of Melton Mowbray. The condition of the beaker, which is complete but for part of the neck, suggests that it formed part of a burial. The beaker is a welcome addition to the very few recorded from this region; another, also of type A, has recently been published from a pit-burial at Knipton, about eight miles to the north-east (*Antiq. Journ.* xv, 61).

*A stone battle-axe from Northern Ireland.*—The name of the River Bann is usually given to the peculiar type of axe-hammer with semicircular blade and sharply indented waist, which Mr. Reginald Smith showed reason for placing near the end of his evolutionary series of these weapons in the British Bronze Age (*Arch.* lxxv, 100–3). But the river is a prolific

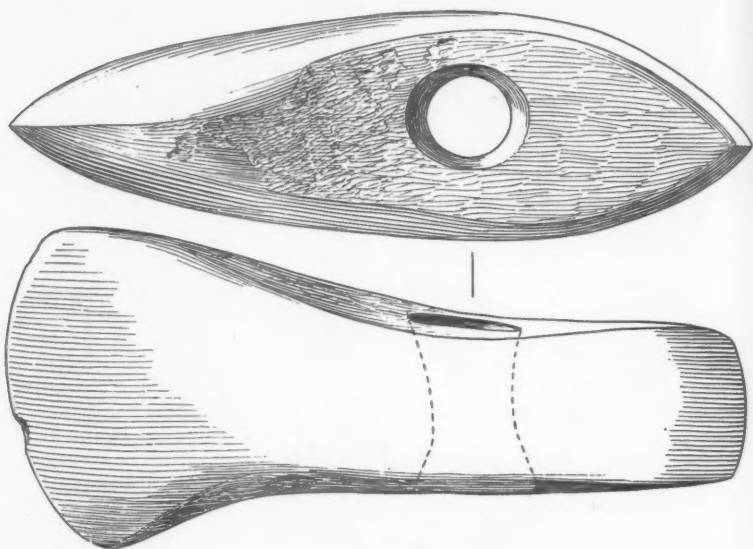


FIG. 1. Stone battle-axe from R. Bann at Kilrea ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

one, and the battle-axe here figured (fig. 1 and pl. xxvii, 1) is of a quite different type. It was recently dredged from the Bann bed at Kilrea, co. Londonderry, and has passed into the collection of Mr. D. Moore Lindsay, of Weybridge, by whose kind permission Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes has been able to inspect it and communicate this note.

The axe is of dark grey-brown basalt, as are so many North Irish stone implements: its length is 8.85 in., and its weight 3 lb. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  oz. The photograph shows how battered areas interrupt the smooth ground surfaces, and the diagram displays the inner profile of the drilled perforation as somewhat of the 'hour-glass' form usually held to imply a 'neolithic' technique of boring. It would be difficult at present, especially for an Irish specimen, to translate the latter implication into terms of absolute dating, and any provisional ideas about the weapon should probably rather be based upon its whole general form. In this three leading characteristics may be noticed: both ends are sharp, with a curved cutting-edge, so that the name 'axe-hammer' would be a misnomer; one is, however, distinguished by a wide expansion of the blade, effected mainly through a



FIG. 1. Stone battle-axe from River Bann at Kilrea (rather over  $\frac{1}{2}$ )



FIG. 2. Antler battle-axe from River Seine at Paris ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )





'droop' of the lower extremity; and the asymmetry is further stressed by the displacement of the perforation towards the end not so expanded.

Battle-axes sharp at both ends are not characteristic of the British Isles, nor are any of our types of perforated weapon usually distinguished by such 'drooping' blades; the displacement of the perforation towards the small end is certainly an 'un-British' feature on a battle-axe of this kind, and one which Mr. Smith (*op. cit.* 80, 97) has noted as typically Danish. The perforated axes of the later Stone Age in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein comprise, of course, two main families, the normally symmetrical double-axes of the megalithic passage-graves, and the true battle-axes of the Jutland 'single-grave' culture. Among the latter a 'drooping' blade is a favourite feature, as indeed it is in various other European branches of the same battle-axe family. The significance with which these weapons have been invested by prehistorians is well known, but disagreement over rival explanations is still rife, as was shown at the recent International Congress in Oslo. One cannot help feeling that ideas would gain elasticity from a closer study of related types not only in metal but also in antler, in which material the North European Mesolithic certainly produced the earliest known perforated axes. Prototypes can at present all too easily be confused with what may in truth be derivatives, and there is probably a good deal of work still to be done in this regard, not least in our corner of Europe.

For instance, the weapon in red-deer antler seen in pl. xxvii, 2, is typologically interesting: it was found in the bed of the Seine at Paris, and came with the Greenwell collection to the British Museum in 1909. The perforation is cylindrical, and the small end has been cut slantwise to an edge as in the usual Mesolithic forms; but the large end, instead of being left to form a butt or utilized to improve the hafting, has on the contrary been pared down to make the principal blade of the weapon, which accordingly displays just the 'droop' of the stone battle-axes above mentioned. The result is a curious resemblance to the Kilrea specimens, and the two are here published together, without further comment, in the hope that each may find a place in some suitable future study such as our Fellow Mr. W. F. Grimes (*Arch. Camb.* xc, 2, 267-73) has recently accomplished for Wales.

*Bucket-urns found near Deal.*—The following discovery of the Late Bronze Age is communicated by Mr. W. P. D. Stebbing, F.S.A. In August 1936 while workmen of the East Kent Water Co. were laying a main for two bungalows along the cliffs south of Kingsdown (half a mile south of the Kingsdown Golf Club-House, and 30 yds. from the edge of the cliff, in the parish of Ringwood), a circular excavation cut 2 ft. 6 in. into the solid chalk was opened up. In this hollow, 2 ft. 3 in. in diameter, was deposited a bucket-urn containing a cremated burial (fig. 1).

The rotten fabric of the urn had been much crushed by the chalk rubble surrounding and filling it; and in its excavation by the men, who had cut into it before recognizing what it was, it was shattered still more, and some pieces were lost. The urn, however, is capable of restoration. The grey

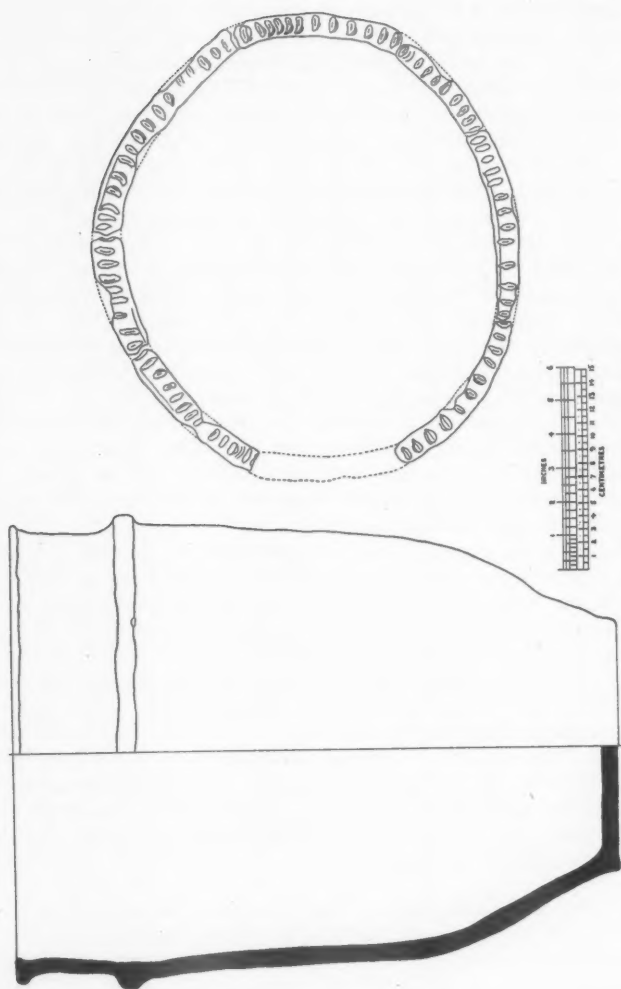


FIG. 1. Urn from Kingsdown cliffs, Ringwold Kent ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

clay, according to the intensity of the fire, has burnt a reddish brown either all through or merely on the surface, or black where the smoke has caught it. It is tempered with much coarse burnt-flint grit.

The urn, 18 in. high by 14 in. maximum diameter, has a gentle convex curve for its upper two-thirds, then it is reduced by a concave curve to the base where it is slightly expanded into a foot. The base is very slightly

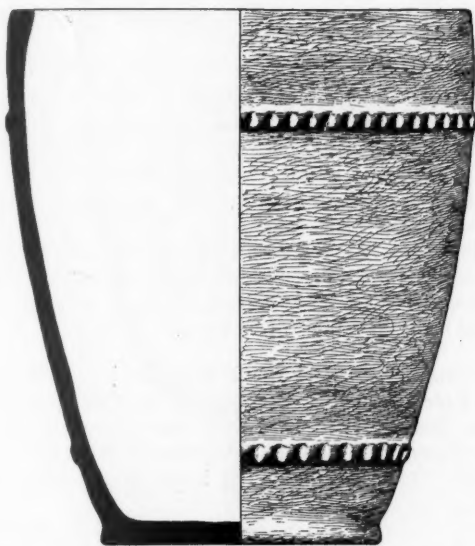


FIG. 2. Urn from Great Mongeham, Kent ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

hollow. The massive fabric of the urn is finished with a thickened flat-topped rim which expands outwardly and, to a less extent, internally. The top is deeply impressed all round by small finger-tip impressions. Additional ornamentation is given by an applied flat cordon, 3 ft. to  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. from the top, unornamented but well finger-pressed. Its average width is  $\frac{3}{4}$  in., and height  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. Between the rim and the cordon the pot has a slight concave curve, with slightly thinner walls in consequence. Here the height of the cordon runs up to half an inch.

Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes adds that the urn is an evident example of the Late Bronze Age 'Deverel-Rimbury' series, for which the detailed quotation of parallel specimens is unnecessary. A more peculiar urn, recently found in the same neighbourhood at Great Mongeham, has also been secured by Mr. Stebbing and submitted for examination at the British Museum (fig. 2). Though an isolated find, this vessel is of interest in possessing the unusual feature of a finger-printed cordon running round the lower part of the ovoid body, just above the slightly 'footed' base, in addition to the one in the normal position not far below the plain

flat-topped rim. It has not been possible to restore the urn completely, but the fragments, of reddish-grey coarse flint-gritted clay, are sufficiently numerous to ensure the accuracy of the measured drawing.

Since the list of these urns for Kent was published in these pages (*Antiq. Journ.* xiii, 450), a number of other additions has been brought to his notice by Dr. A. G. Ince, Mr. R. F. Jessup, F.S.A., and Mr. Norman Cook of Maidstone Museum. The impending publication of those which are new discoveries will enable all to be tabulated together shortly.

*Prick-spur from Wilts.*—Mr. A. D. Passmore provides the photograph of an iron spur (pl. xxviii), washed with tin or silver and dating from the tenth century, which he states was found some years ago in digging on the bank of the By (or Box) Brook near the village of Slaughtford in West Wilts. Another, found in casual association on the same site, dates from the reign of Henry V, and is of less interest. Both were no doubt lost in fording the brook, which here had a gravel bed. The prick-spur is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. long and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. broad, the rosettes being nine-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. Examples of this date are naturally rare, but the type is recognized, for example, in C. de Lacy Lacy's *History of the Spur*, p. 25, pl. 8, the two figured being in Guildhall Museum.

*The International Numismatic Conference.*—This Conference was held in London on June 30–July 3 under the auspices of the Royal Numismatic Society. Some 300 representatives from fifteen countries were present, and numerous papers were read on all branches of the subject. Sir George Macdonald, K.C.B., President of the Royal Numismatic Society, was President of the Congress.

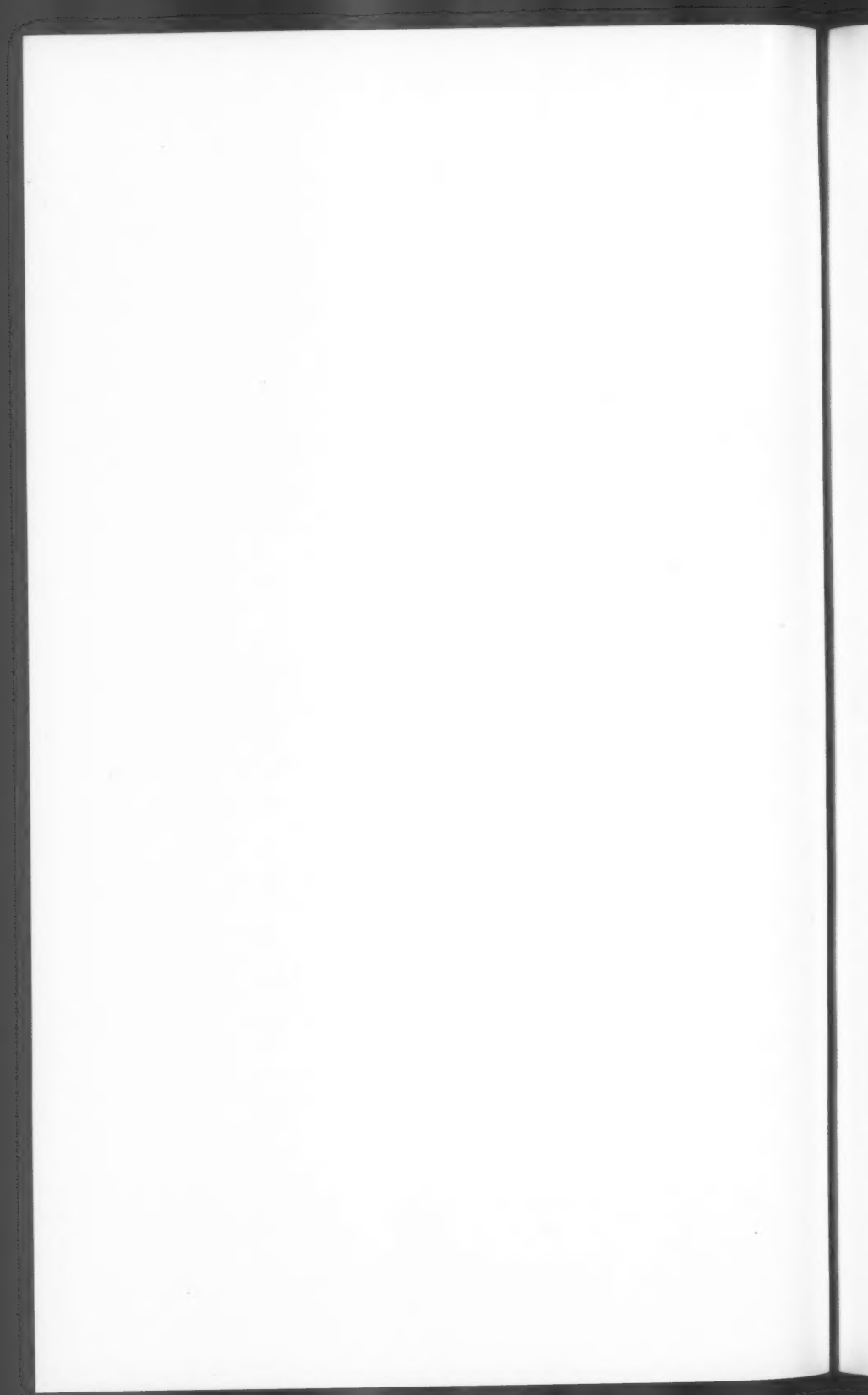
Among the more important papers read were the President's survey of 'Fifty Years of Greek Numismatics'; Prof. Ashmole on 'The Relation between Coins and Sculpture'; Prof. Alföldy on the 'Isis Festivals of the Fourth Century'; Mr. H. Mattingly on the 'Legionary Coins of Victorinus'; Mr. J. W. E. Pearce on the 'Reign of Theodosius I'; Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland on the 'Radiate Minimi'; Col. N. T. Belaiew on the 'Geographical Distribution of the Sceattas'; Mr. J. B. Caldecott on the 'Money of the Boy-Bishops'; and Direktor A. v. Loehr on 'International Co-operation in Numismatics'. The papers read will be published by the Royal Numismatic Society in a special volume in commemoration of its Centenary.

A government reception was given to the members at Lancaster House in the course of the Congress. The Congress, the first to be held since 1910, was a most successful one, and it is hoped to hold the next in Brussels after an interval of five years.

*A Jutish fragment from Kent.*—Our Fellow Mr. T. D. Kendrick communicates the following note on two interesting Anglo-Saxon antiquities that have never been adequately published. They are in the collections of the Dover Museum and have recently been cleaned in the British Museum Laboratory, where they were photographed. The first is a small iron

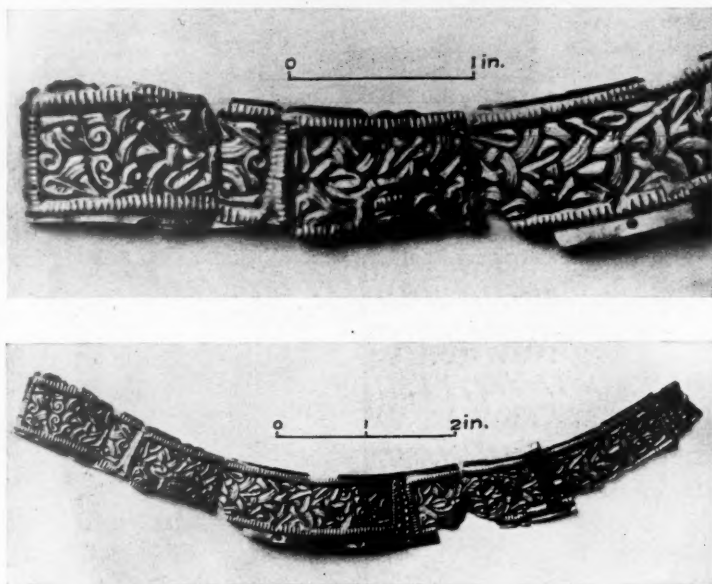


Prick-spur from Wilts. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )





scramasax-knife with a fine herring-bone inlay of bronze, a late tenth- or early eleventh-century piece, whose discovery is not recorded. The second, illustrated here, comes from Old Park, Dover,<sup>1</sup> and is an embossed silver-gilt mount of the late sixth century. It is now a strip  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. in width and  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, but it is not complete, as an end is broken. If the portion missing is the larger part of a short panel like that at the unbroken end



Silver-gilt mount (with detail, enlarged) from Dover

of the strip, the mount would be long enough to form the rim of a cup about 3 in. in diameter, that is to say, one of the smaller wooden cups like those found elsewhere in Kent (at Faversham), and also at Farthing Down in Surrey, and in the Taplow Barrow. The ornament is arranged in rectangular panels, and consists of an even spread of zoomorphic details, a close chaotic assembly without organization or flowing rhythm. It is a stage of disintegration of the Kentish animal-style that is closely matched in the inner fields of one of the finest square-headed brooches from the Chessel Down cemetery in the Isle of Wight. It is interesting to compare the Dover piece with earlier examples of the same style in this strip form, for instance, on the mouth-pieces of the best known of the Taplow drinking-horns; for the gulf between this crowded and excited spread of detail and the more disciplined austerity of the Taplow style is incontestably a wide one.

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iii, pl. LXVIII, no. 1.



FIG. 1. Bronze Age cist, Lower Lledrod,  
Cardiganshire; looking north

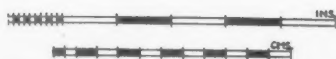
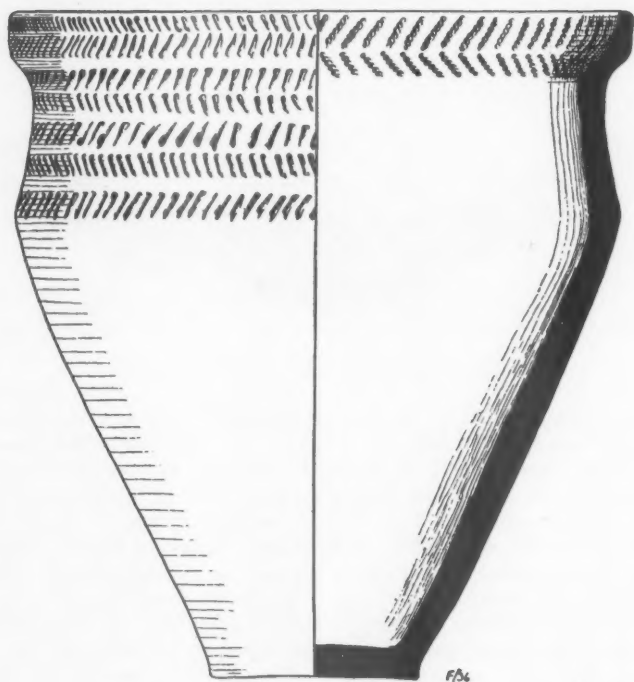


FIG. 2. Bronze Age cinerary urn, Lower Lledrod, Cardiganshire

*A Middle Bronze Age Burial in Cardiganshire.* Prof. Daryll Forde sends the following:—A middle Bronze Age cist burial has been discovered in a cairn on the moors of Mynydd Bach, nine miles south of Aberystwyth in the parish of Lower Lledrod, Cardiganshire. The cairn, Gâr Wen (White Cairn), is the southernmost of two which lie 200 yards apart aligned North-South on the crest of a ridge. It was almost completely denuded, but the perimeter, still marked in places by more massive blocks, could be clearly distinguished, and indicated a diameter of 60 ft. The cairn was circular, but the cist lay eccentrically 16 ft. from the north-eastern margin. The cist, built of massive stone blocks (see fig. 1), had the following internal dimensions 3 ft. 3 in. long, 2 ft. 1 in. wide, 1 ft. 2 in. deep, and was covered by two cap stones.

A cinerary urn containing cremated remains lay inverted on the paved floor at the north-eastern end of the cist. No other artefacts were found. The urn is of the early, so-called developed food vessel or moulded rim, type (see fig. 2), decorated on the external neck with seven rows of oblique stab ornament, and on the internal rim with two rows of oblique cord impressions. Its overall measurements are: height 12.1 in., diameter at rim 11.4 in. The cairn and urn will be more completely published at a later date.

## Reviews

*The Cambridge Medieval History. Volume viii. The Close of the Middle Ages.* 9 x 6½. Pp. xxviii + 1079. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1936. 50s.

With this, its eighth volume, the Cambridge Medieval History completes its triumphant course. Ten volumes of the Ancient History have appeared, and soon it will join on to the beginning of the Medieval History at the reign of Constantine the Great. A generation has passed since Lord Acton planned the Modern History, which, completed in 1912, still appears to be a more solid and satisfactory achievement than its successors. Two supplementary volumes are now in preparation which will present, as far as it can be presented, the history of our own time, so that it will not be long before a reader, whose curiosity and patience are sufficient, may follow the story of this earth (or what is to us the more important part of it) from the really pre-historic time of the 'Sea of Tethys' to the Great War. The early volumes of the Ancient History are, I suppose, already in need of revision, but the rest of the vast series will hardly need re-writing for another generation. In spite of unevenness of execution, of insoluble difficulties of planning, and the defects inherent in the very nature of such a construction, the Cambridge Histories are an incomparable aid to research, an indispensable guide to the student, and a work of reference in which every confidence can be placed.

And yet when we turn back to the first volume of the Medieval History which appeared in 1911, some of its chapters sound like echoes from another world. The names of Gwatkin, Reid, Lindsay, Turner, Haverfield, Alice Gardner, Vinogradoff, and Lethaby, carry us back to more fortunate days. But other scholars who made their contribution are happily still with us, and among them it is right to mention the veteran Max Manitius who wrote on the Teutonic Migrations, but is better known for his massive history of Medieval Latin literature.

In making use of such a work as the Cambridge Medieval History, the business of unification must be largely the reader's own, and it is perhaps better not to regard it so much as a text-book for students as a collection of monographs designed to cover most of the ground. From this point of view what is more admirable than, say, to find a first-rate account of the Medieval estates by Prof. McIlwain, or a survey of peasant life and rural conditions by Miss Power? Miss Underhill gives a thoroughly scholarly and sober account of Christian mysticism; Dr. Roth compresses into small space the history of Medieval Jewry; Prof. Hamilton Thompson deals with Medieval dogma, monasticism, and military architecture; Dr. Little with the Mendicant Orders. These are but examples of the amazing richness of these volumes. I have said nothing of the chapters devoted to Russia, to Spain, to Scandinavia, to Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, or, to come nearer home, to Scotland and Ireland. The chapters on English history, taken together, are technically as good a collection as one could wish for. And there are, of course, brilliant chapters on France

by great French historians, while the single volume devoted to the Eastern Roman Empire reflects the wisdom of those who planned it.

The volume now under review covers the fifteenth century, roughly to the fall of Constantinople, but the joining up with the first volume of the Cambridge Modern History cannot be accomplished in an even line. The story of Florence and North Italy must be carried down to 1492, and the English chapters end at 1485.

The theme is that of tragic failure all along the line, in Church and Empire, in the cause of Christendom, in institutions, and in ideals. It is, indeed, as the title of the book suggests, 'the close of the Middle Ages'. In the epilogue, Dr. Previt -Orton speaks well of the 'decadent aspect of the fifteenth century'. We are impressed with the ruthless selfishness of the men who anywhere possessed themselves of power. The Church most of all had failed the peoples of the West just when their need was greatest. The old social system was dying, and the old institutions were crumbling. Out of this anarchy men were to seek salvation in the absolutism of a secularized state.

Such are the shadows that fall over the pages of this last volume. The first chapter contains the story of the Conciliar movement, 'the last attempt of the medieval Church to reform itself', and we see clearly how the earnest reformers showed as much folly as wisdom, and themselves contributed to the failure in which the movement had its issue. The tragedy of Hus and of Bohemia is matched by the tragedy of disunited Germany. In Italy, a century of disorder, treachery, and transitory splendour ends with the scene set for the French invasion. France is suffering the final horrors of the Hundred Years War, and in England the Lancastrian failure is followed by the impotence of the Yorkist kings in the face of the inveterate evil of the times.

These are general impressions, but as Prof. C. H. Williams warns us, with primary reference to his survey (a fresh and stimulating chapter) of the Yorkist kings, 'it is wisdom not to be dogmatic'. The good and evil are mixed in human things, and if the mark of failure is over every effort of man, life continues, new forces emerge, and the effort of creation and discovery goes on. So it is with the fifteenth century. In England, there is the witness of the rebuilding of hundreds of splendid parish churches, with roofs and screens and furnishings of incomparable craftsmanship. The breath of the Renaissance was already felt in school and university. The middle and merchant class knew its own mind decisively, and was ready to support the only power that could give security from the anarchy in which the Medieval system had ended—'the unified and sovereign State', which, as Prof. Laski tells us, had this obvious merit, that 'it made certain what was before uncertain', and 'built order where, before, there was chaos'. 'In its origin', he says, 'the unified State simply appears as an avenue to peace; and it is intelligible enough that an age weary of internal strife should have received its coming, as in Tudor England, with gratitude.' But the notion still persisted (again I quote Prof. Laski's admirable chapter) that the state is built upon the idea of law, and the Medieval conception of Natural Law 'freed from its ecclesiastical

environment, becomes, in the doctrine of the Rights of Man, one of the creative forces of modern time'.

The Medieval world bequeathed to us so rich a legacy in every sphere of true and proper human activity that only the merest beginning has yet been made with the task of comprehending it and presenting it as an intelligible whole. To this end the Cambridge Medieval History will serve as an invaluable instrument.

F. J. E. RABY.

*Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata.* By FELIX OSWALD, F.S.A.  
Part I.  $15\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. 39, with 20 plates. Liverpool: University Press.  
1936. 12s.

This fine and important work is issued as a supplement to the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* and all students of Roman ceramics owe a deep debt of gratitude to the University Press of Liverpool for undertaking its publication. Recognition of the value of careful research is none too common, and we would venture to pay an especial tribute to Prof. J. P. Droop whose influence may be described as the chief and deciding factor in its production.

To those who appreciate the importance of every kind of evidence—whether historical or archaeological—which is relevant to the study of the Roman Imperial period, this *Index* will not only be welcome but also indispensable. The volume under review forms the first of four parts devoted to the question and is the work of a scholar who possesses a twofold qualification, i.e. an intimate knowledge of his subject and a facile ability of translating that knowledge into figure-representation.

Since Déchelette published his pioneer work in 1904, large numbers of figure-types have come to light. The necessity of an undertaking of this kind is therefore obvious. Although this work is thoroughly up to date, neither the author nor the reviewer would claim a complete record of all figure-types, for no doubt yet more remain to be discovered. Their number, however, cannot be great.

The subject-matter is arranged in a workmanlike manner and consists of a preface, a subject-index, a list of Déchelette's type-numbers and their equivalents in the present work, the descriptive text and a series of accurately drawn and finely produced figure-types, which, when the publication is complete, will number more than 2,431 and occupy 89 large plates,  $15 \times 11$  in. The types are drawn the actual size of the originals in order to facilitate identification by exact measurement—a point of much importance when slight variations may indicate different dates. The descriptive text is kept as concise as possible and consists of a short note on each type, its general period, its place of manufacture, and, whenever possible, the names of the potters associated with it.

The work is so authoritative that comment on its detail is unnecessary, but attention may be drawn to certain general considerations that arise from its study.

Although South Gaulish sigillata was the child of Arretine ware, Italic human figure-subjects were rarely copied or imitated by the early provincial potter. He displayed a predilection for linear rather than plastic represen-



tation, and plant and other ornament, already more or less conventionalized, predominated. Much of this ornament is clearly derivative, i.e. it owed its inspiration to Arretine sources. On the other hand, the earliest provincial potters experienced much difficulty in imitating Italic figure-representation (cf. Oxé, *Frühgallische Reliefgefäße vom Rhein*, ix, 39, Omphale and Hercules). But in the Claudian and Neronian periods, classical and other figure-representation, largely derived from other sources, was not uncommon (cf. Oswald's types 8, 103, 164). Rarely, however, representations that may be traced to late Arretine sources were depicted (cf. Chase, *Arretine Pottery*, Boston, xxx, 140, Lion attacking Mule, and Knorr, *Terra Sigillata*, 1919, text-fig. 39, where the same figure is used by the South Gaulish potter MASCLVS).

It is remarkable how few figure-types were common to both south and central Gaul, and this, notwithstanding the somewhat close proximity of these pottery centres. Usually, although the same subject may be represented, the figure is executed in a markedly different manner (cf. Oswald's types 2, La Graufesenque and 1, Lezoux; also 103, La Graufesenque and 106, Lezoux). Independent development seems to be clearly indicated. The later evolution of the flourishing period of the Central Gaulish potteries may, however, to some extent account for this differing treatment. The East Gaulish potter borrowed from both south (cf. Oswald's types 103, La Graufesenque and 105, Trier) and central Gaul, more particularly from the latter. He also evolved some new types, and modifications of type, of his own (cf. Oswald type 328).

Dr. Oswald has illustrated a number of closely similar figures, usually of a prototypic character, in metal, marble, and other material. In this context, one cannot but admire the self-imposed restraint necessitated by exigence of space.

Frequently a reduction in the size of the later examples of the same figure-type is noticeable. This reduction has been considered to be due to the taking of stamp impressions from the reliefs, often worn, of earlier vessels. Many good examples of this diminution are illustrated in this work, as, for instance, types 286 and 286 A. But diminution in the size of later examples of the same figure is by no means universal. Thus, the early Venus of LIBERTVS, type 287, is much smaller than the later representation of the same figure in the style of CINNAMVS, type 288 A. So also, throughout the first century, there is no progressive diminution in the representation of Diana and the small Hind (cf. Oswald's types 103, 103 A, B, 104, 104 A, B). It is only at the 'turn' of the first and second centuries that some diminution in this figure-type appears, as at Vichy (type 103 c), a reduction which becomes more marked in the late Antonine period, at Trier (type 105). Here it may be remarked that these examples demonstrate the extreme value of these accurate scale-drawings. This question has been dealt with at some length because it emphasizes the necessity of reserve in accepting the chronological implications of reduction in figure-size.

A study of this work demonstrates the fact that the same figure was often used by potters who worked at different periods. Thus the Vulcan



type 68, was used by *LIBERTVS* and *PATERNVS*, the former working chiefly in the Trajanic period and the latter mainly in the Antonine age. This only furnishes one of the many examples of the imitation of Trajanic types by Antonine potters. Too close a chronological application should therefore not be made of figure-types on unsigned bowls, even when they occur in association with the names of potters on other vessels. Frequently, it will be found that the date of the bowl will be more definitely indicated by the results of a careful scrutiny of associated ornamental detail, such as ovolos, bead-rows, wavy lines, etc. Perhaps, at some future date, the author will still further increase our indebtedness by the publication of an illustrated, chronological digest of wreath and other ornamental motifs.

Our Fellow Dr. Oswald is to be sincerely congratulated on the production of a work of great practical value. It will, like his *Index of Potters' Stamps*, be the subject of constant consultation both in this country and on the continent. No excavator of a Roman site can afford to dispense with it, and no museum which houses Roman pottery should lack a copy.

T. DAVIES PRYCE.

*Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England. An inventory of the historical monuments in Westmorland.* 10½ x 8½. Pp. lxxviii + 302. London: Stationery Office, Adastral House, Kingsway. 1936. 30s.

In this, their seventeenth, volume the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England issue their report upon Westmorland, the first of the northern counties to come under review. As explained by their Chairman, Lord Crawford, in his preface, the volume contains a series of general articles on the county as a whole; a sectional preface (calling attention to any particularly interesting example contained in the inventory); an illustrated inventory with a concise account of the monuments visited; a list of those considered specially worthy of preservation; an Armorial of Heraldry before 1550; followed by a glossary, map, and index. The monuments, as in the Reports on Huntingdon and Hereford, are described under the heads of parishes arranged alphabetically, with an introductory paragraph noting those of particular interest.

Pre-historic and Roman Westmorland are succinctly described by Dr. Mortimer Wheeler; while Professor Stenton throws light upon the position of the county in the dark pre-Conquest period during the Scottish domination. The third of these general articles treats of that great woman, Lady Anne Clifford, whose name is still a household word in Westmorland.

Nothing seems to have escaped the attention of the visitors; and the detailed accounts, illustrated by excellent plans and one hundred and sixty plates of illustrations, furnish an inventory of the treasures of the county upon which it would be difficult to improve. Special note is made of types of buildings and woodwork peculiar to the north-western country, such as the Statesmen's houses and the cottages of similar design; and even the old lock at Asby Rectory, bearing the initials of Anne of Pembroke, is described and illustrated. Lady Anne gave these locks to her friends,

keeping the master-key herself; but there can be few still in existence, though that sent by her to Rydal Hall still survives at Browsholme.

The great houses of the county, the castles of Appleby and Sizergh, the old hall at Levens, are admirably described. The account of Sizergh is unfortunately interrupted by the insertion of fifty-six plates of illustrations, which might with advantage have been placed at the end of the volume. One might have hoped for more historical detail as to the older portions of Levens Hall before the Bellinghams bought it from the Redmaynes, who had held Levens from the twelfth to the sixteenth century; but Scottish raiders had done such havoc in these parts that much rebuilding was necessary in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the new Bellingham owners had no interest in preserving relics of their predecessors.

This volume is yet another example of the excellent work that is being done by the Royal Commission; and too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the manner of its production by His Majesty's Stationery Office. No one interested in the history of Westmorland should be without this inventory of its historical monuments.

JOHN PARKER.

*A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records. Vol. iv. I George I-24 George II.* Edited by R. A. Roberts. 11 x 7½. Pp. xxxvi + 634. London: published by order of the Masters of the Bench and sold by Geo. Barber & Son, Ltd. 1933. 21s.

The history of those four self-governing communities, the Inns of Court, provides a fascinating study, and it is certain that in this volume of the records of the Inner Temple from 1714 to 1750, many besides lawyers will find much to interest them. The records, painstakingly edited by Mr. Roberts, consist of the Acts of the Honourable Society's own Parliament, the Orders made by the Masters of the Bench, known as Bench Table Orders, the yearly accounts, and certain collections of miscellanea.

The business recorded is extremely varied, its only unity being its connexion with the Society. Happenings beyond its walls hardly find mention. A great many of the Acts of Parliament and Bench Table Orders are concerned with the Society's premises. Chambers were sold for terms of two or three lives and were sometimes then sub-let, but the Society kept a strict control over the actual buildings, and allowed no alterations to be made without the authority of the Masters of the Bench. These entries throw an interesting sidelight on building conditions in the early eighteenth century, and make it plain that many of the premises belonging to the Society could not, on modern standards, be regarded as commodious. Nevertheless, chambers did not long stand empty for want of tenants.

Judged by the number of orders touching the subject, the Society's second concern, after the welfare of its buildings, was the commons served in Hall. From the detailed accounts which are available, it is clear that dinner, taken at two o'clock, and supper at seven or eight, were no niggardly meals. The amount of wine drunk was in keeping, and as for beer, the consumption was apparently so great that the Benchers set up their

own brewhouse, under the supervision of two of their number. Petitions from the Bar mess for the improvement of commons were dealt with with due solemnity, and the Masters of the Bench did not appreciate such pleasantries as the subscriptions 'John Doe, his mark' and 'Moth: Osborne', found in one petition. It is encouraging to learn that on one occasion the Head Cook was amerced the sum of 6s. 8d. for 'sending up chickens in a dirty slovenly manner, spoiled in the dressing'.

No detail of the appointment or duties of the domestic staff seems to have been too trivial to receive the weighty consideration of the Benchers. Even the engagement of a washpot or turnspit needed their judgement. The fact that such minor matters as these received the attention of the Bench makes it the more strange that the questions of preparation and qualifications required for the Call to the Bar are rarely mentioned. There were discussions on the subject with Gray's Inn twice, and once with the Middle Temple, but the position was left indeterminate with a casualness which is in striking contrast to the interest now taken by the Inns of Court in the education of their students.

An examination of the accounts, which are reprinted very fully, is both entertaining and instructive. As may well be imagined, they deal with many widely divergent matters; but perhaps the strangest record is of a payment of £1 os. 11d. to 'Mr. Farlow, for christening several children and burying others, and for oil for the locks of the fire cocks, etc.'. The explanation is that Mr. Farlow was the Head Porter, whose duties were indeed varied.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the sense of peace which still pervades the Temple was occasionally interrupted, the most serious disturbances being three murders, including the notorious murder of Mrs. Duncombe in Tanfield Court, and a disastrous fire in 1737 which destroyed twenty sets of chambers. Lesser inconveniences were caused by noisy tenants, such as the gentleman who, by fencing, dancing, etc., so disturbed a more orderly neighbour that he could neither work in the day nor sleep in the night. Fortunately the Benchers' warning to the fencing and dancing gentleman that his chamber would be 'padlocked' unless he mended his ways had the desired effect. A dispute with the Middle Temple in 1736 over a question of precedence threatened to cause a breach of the peace on the part of certain hotheaded members of the Inner House, but the altercation was referred to the Lord Chancellor and the two Chief Justices who, after hearing learned argument on behalf of both Societies, gave a decision which averted the danger, at least for that occasion.

The volume contains several plates, including a remarkably fine coloured reproduction of a plan prepared in 1729 by the surveyor, Mathew Lowndes, at the direction of the two Societies of the Temple, to show the extent of their several properties. The index is as complete and helpful as could be desired, and is further evidence of the care with which the records have been edited. In production, the book is admirable, a credit to the printers and worthy of the traditions of the Honourable Society by whom it is published.

FRANK W. JESSUP.

*English Church Screens.* By AYMER VALLANCE. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Pp. xii + 104. 289 plates and 28 figures in text. London: Batsford. 1936. 25s.

Lovers of England and its architectural treasures owe a great debt to the enterprising firm of Batsford for many beautiful publications, and the one under review perhaps surpasses them all for beauty and interest. They have been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Aymer Vallance, whose name at once commands our confidence that the work has been admirably done, for there is no greater authority on the subject.

Few realize the great treasure this country possesses in its unique series of rood-screens, in which it stands alone, and they are not confined to the larger and better known churches, but some of the finest are to be discovered in the remotest parts of Wales. Mr. Vallance seems to know them all, and has produced a truly astonishing series of examples, among which nothing seems to have been omitted. The photographs too are without exception among the very best, and even the painted screens, which must often have been exceptionally difficult subjects for the camera, show every detail with marvellous clearness. There are also some excellent specimens in colour, particularly the fine example with figures of saints at Southwold, and the pattern devices from Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire, and Hornby, Yorkshire. Among the photographs we may mention particularly the rich and beautiful example from Plymtree, Devon; the exceedingly ornate specimen from Queen Camel, Somerset; and a simpler but very pleasing screen from Balsham, Cambridgeshire. Of the finer Welsh examples may be cited Llananno, Radnor, with its multiplicity of carved panels, all different; Llangwm Issa, Monmouth; and the unusually rich back of the loft at Llanegryn, Merioneth. There are many other beautiful examples from Devon and East Anglia; and some fine specimens of the Renaissance period, as at Leeds, and Croscombe, Somerset. Among the finer painted subjects are several from Norfolk, and the series of saints from Strensham, Worcestershire, now converted into a western gallery; also the remarkable paintings of the Doom (not strictly roods) at Salisbury St. Thomas and the Guild Chapel at Stratford-on-Avon.

But the value of the book is not confined to this wonderful series of illustrations. The 104 pages of text, which seem all too brief, give a most admirable account of the history of the rood and rood-screen in this country, a subject which has never before been so satisfactorily treated. Mr. Vallance shows clearly the distinction between the rood itself and the rood-screen and loft. The latter had originally no religious significance and were regarded as one single feature. The object of the loft was purely for the musical portion of the service, and there are records of London churches which show that an organ was often placed there (p. 68). It is obviously due to this that so many were preserved at the Reformation, though the roods themselves have practically disappeared.

There is also an interesting chapter (VI) on local types and peculiarities. As a Kentish man the author naturally gives preference to the screens of his own county, which are not so well known as they should be. He clearly demonstrates that Devon and East Anglia are not the only parts of England where the screen may be seen in its greatest richness. Perhaps

sufficient justice has hardly been done to the Welsh screens already referred to, which show great variety and extraordinary richness of detail, especially in the treatment of the rood-lofts. It is also regrettable that one of the finest, Llangwm Issa, has been referred to its wrong county. It is actually in Monmouth, not Denbigh. The chapter on post-Reformation screens also has many features of interest. We have not only fine examples of screens from Wren's churches, but also a curious little screen from How Caple, Herefordshire, of William III's reign, with tracery of a very unusual type.

It is altogether a beautiful and fascinating book, and one for which both author and publisher deserve our most grateful thanks.

H. B. W.

*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. United States of America, Fascicule 5. University of California. Fascicule I.* By H. R. W. SMITH. 13 x 10. Pp. 60, 62 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 1936. 22s. 6d.

Since the last review of this publication in 1934, which dealt with the Robinson Collection of Greek Vases at Baltimore, little if any progress has been made with it, but on the cover is a list of twenty-six fascicules in progress, of which the two from Spain are not likely to be completed at present. The one under consideration is by no means inferior in interest to its American predecessors, in spite of its far-off origin, but the University of California is well known as one of the most progressive in the States.

It mostly comprises a generous gift of Mrs. Hearst and her son, and includes all varieties of Greek vases except Cyprus and the Italiote fabrics, reserved for a second part, ranging from Mycenaean vases to Attic red-figured and Apulian wares. It is a good representative collection, but there are very few outstanding pieces. We note a good example of the new 'Andrian' class among the earlier fabrics, and there is a remarkably fine late red-figured hydria with a representation of the birth of Dionysos, not as in most cases from the thigh of Zeus, but from his own mother Semele. It is, unfortunately, much damaged, but the striking figure of Semele *accouchée* is practically complete. The composition has the defects of its period, but the drawing is masterly, and there are interesting variations of the myth, such as the figure of Iris as Hera's destroying angel.

Possibly due to the fact that many of the vases are in poor condition, the photographs do not strike one as, on the whole, quite up to the usual American standard, but in the best-preserved vases the results are excellent. As in the case of Baltimore, the descriptions are very full, but in the absence of a published catalogue this is always welcome. The printing, too, leaves nothing to be desired.

H. B. W.

*Zur älteren nordischen Bronzezeit.* VON KARL KERSTEN. 11½ x 9. Pp. viii + 176. Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag. 1936. 18 RM.

The Museum Vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer in Kiel possesses the richest assemblage of Bronze Age grave-groups and hoards in northern Europe outside Copenhagen. Only a fraction of this wealth has been published in Splieth's valuable catalogue and in inaccessible articles. The present



monograph would therefore be worth buying if only for the twenty-six plates of fine photographs of grave-groups and depot-finds. But it is very much more than an album. The text, though compressed and rigorously restricted in scope, is a substantial contribution to our knowledge and appreciation of the brilliant Nordic Bronze Age. The author has made an intensive first-hand study of the collections in the principal museums of north Germany, Denmark, and south Sweden (he did not reach Stockholm). He has not only submitted the bronzes to a minute typological analysis, but also has scrutinized the museum archives for the circumstances of their discovery. Moreover, he has presented his typological analysis in a new and fruitful form. The several types—127 in all for zone I—are entered in the same order on the top and left-hand margins of a sheet of squared paper. The number of closed finds in which any two types are associated is indicated by a numeral in the square at the intersection of the relevant column and row. The frequency of association is thus disclosed graphically, and it is easy to see which types are in fact confined to a single horizon. Unfortunately the distribution sheets have been reduced too much for easy reading, and the index sketches of types must sometimes be supplemented by reference to the full descriptions in the text and to illustrations by Montelius or Sophus Müller there cited.

The outstanding conclusions of the study can be summarized as follows: The Nordic province of Bronze Age culture must be divided into three zones—I, north Jutland, the Danish islands, and (southern) Sweden; II, south Jutland and Schleswig-Holstein; III, a frontier belt farther south. From Period II onwards zone I was the focus of Bronze Age culture where development was most rapid and most brilliant; zone II was already 'provincial'; zone III an area of mixed cultures. Sophus Müller's fine typological divisions are applicable only to zone I; in zone II for instance only two phases (A and B) can be distinguished during Montelius's period II, phase II a (Sophus Müller 2) of zone I being unrepresented as a period distinct from II b (Sophus Müller 3), while in zone III no subdivision is possible. In zone I alone grave cists of stone occur side by side with oak coffins and 'Steinpackungen'; they suggest a persistence there of Megalithic traditions despite the political dominance of the Separate Grave folk. The heirs of these blended Megalithic and Separate Grave traditions would be the true Germans. The earliest metal objects—the copper flat celts—from the north are confined to the same coastal districts as the Megalithic tombs; hence they were introduced by coastal trade and used by the still neolithic Megalith-builders, not the Separate Grave folk. But the first native Nordic bronze industry is represented by grave-goods chiefly in zone II; a belated Stone Age, the Stone Cist period, still ruled in zone I. 'First in Montelius's Period II does a Bronze Age proper begin in zone I' and it is only with this period that we can speak strictly of a distinctively Nordic province of Bronze Age culture and an individual Nordic art.

To the first half of this period (II A) is assigned the British spear-head with basal loops from Liesbüttel which we should class as Late Bronze Age here. But Kersten attempts no correlation of the Nordic with British

or Central European periods (beyond insisting that Sophus Müller's typology cannot be extended to Central Europe as Kossinna had hoped). Students will find invaluable material for such comparisons in his book, but it is a pity that, to avoid duplicating Sprockhoff's work, the author had to omit swords and daggers. In addition to illustrations and exact descriptions of barrow-constructions and metal types, it contains lists of find spots, of grave-forms in 565 barrows in Schleswig-Holstein and in 389 in Denmark, together with distribution maps and a table of the stratigraphy of barrows with multiple interments. These lists are convenient, but they are not, and do not claim to be, exhaustive. The introduction explains why the author was obliged to publish the work unfinished. The results justify his temerity, and we must hope that he will soon have the opportunity to complete his studies and issue a revised and enlarged edition, even better illustrated.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

*Roman Glass from Karanis found by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924-29.* By DONALD B. HARDEN, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Pp. xviii + 349. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1936. \$4.

The systematic excavation of the ancient Romano-Egyptian town at Kôm Aushîm (Karanis) was something of an innovation in a country where Roman remains are inclined to be regarded by archaeologists as inconvenient superstructures overlying the treasures of an earlier age. For many years, the Graeco-Roman town mounds in the Fayûm had largely been the perquisite of the papyrologist and, at a time when archaeology in Egypt was a less developed science than it is to-day, scant attention was paid to pottery and other antiquities associated with dated ostraca, coins, and papyri in the same strata.

Long before the inauguration of the University of Michigan Excavations in 1924, Karanis was a well-known source of ancient glass. Unfortunately, the debris from these ancient sites in Egypt makes an admirable fertilizer for the fields, and much of this glass was found in the course of illicit digging by natives. This had reached such proportions by 1924 that the central portion of the mound had been entirely denuded, and hardly a trace remained of the southern and central parts of the ancient town. Several large hoards of such glass were preserved in the Cairo Museum, while some, if not all, of the Roman portion of the famous Askren Collection, purchased by the University of Michigan, is thought to have come from Karanis. In addition, we have now the invaluable collection of glass vessels discovered by the University Expedition between 1924 and 1929 and admirably published in this volume by Mr. Harden.

Such a book has long been awaited not only by those concerned with the archaeology of Roman Egypt, but by many archaeologists working in the Near East who have had to rely, hitherto, almost exclusively on Kisa's *Das Glas im Altertume*, a work out of date and most inconveniently arranged for easy reference. Here we have a large catalogue of apparently well dated glass from Roman Egypt, excellently arranged for purposes of reference, described in the greatest detail, and adequately illustrated by



photographs and line drawings. So extensive is the collection that it is safe to predict that most of the types liable to be found on Egyptian sites of this period will be found here, and only minor adjustments will in future be necessary in the morphological system of classification adopted.

The main classes are subdivided as to differences in technique, decoration, and colour. The chief difficulty has been in regard to dating, especially in a country as conservative as Egypt. At Kôm Aushîm, as elsewhere, houses lasted for as long as two centuries with various reconstructions. This telescoping of the different strata is further complicated by the difficulty of determining floor levels in a sandy soil where the door threshold has often disappeared. Again, as Mr. Harden points out, Roman glass was a luxury until at least as late as the fourth century, and for that reason was preserved with special care. Vessels might, therefore, be a good deal earlier than the occupation level in which they were found. On the other hand, glass being an easily breakable material, one doubts whether it could have been safely conserved for any great length of time. If the Egyptian's capacity for breaking glass was as great then as it is to-day, its life must have been comparatively short. Mr. Harden, however, has attempted to solve this problem by evolving a system of sequence-dating based on an analysis of the glass vessels from several typical rooms of each level with reference to their 'fabric' or chemical composition.

The nine main fabrics fall into two groups, an earlier and a later. Excavation shows that the earlier group included the predominant second-century glass of Roman Egypt, but we have as yet no knowledge of its earliest use in the preceding century. A definitive time-limit for the later group is complicated by the fact that there was little occupation of Karanis after 400 and no evidence of any after 460. We may, therefore, not entirely agree with Mr. Harden in his view that, on the basis of types outside Egypt, the types of this later group probably ended with the fifth century. The conical glass lamps, for instance—closely related to those in use in the churches and mosques in Egypt at the present day—occur, according to Mr. Harden, rarely if at all in deposits outside Egypt of the sixth century. Fragments have nevertheless been found in tombs in Lower Nubia which may be as late as the middle of that century.

The whole basis for the dating of the glass in this catalogue rests on archaeological material still unpublished in detail. We have, therefore, to rely on the conclusions summarily set out in the preliminary Topographical Report of the Expedition. It should be said, however, that not all of these conclusions are accepted by Mr. Harden, who was himself a member of the Expedition from 1928 to 1930.

Mr. Harden has produced a book of permanent value to archaeologists who study the Roman period; for he has not confined himself to Egypt, and in the full discussions at the beginning of each chapter refers to corresponding types of glass vessels from other parts of the Roman world. At the moment, nothing is more needed in Egyptian archaeology than a series of detailed studies such as this, where the information laboriously gleaned from the excavation reports is collected, analysed, and set out in a convenient form for reference. Mr. Harden's book—modestly described in

the Preface as a catalogue—is rather a treatise on Roman glass from Egypt, and a model for future volumes of a similar kind on other subjects.

L. P. K.

*The Bucheum.* By Sir ROBERT MOND and OLIVER H. MYERS. Three volumes.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ . Pp. xii + 203; iv + 92; iv + 173 plates. London: Egypt Exploration Society and Milford. 1934.

These three volumes describe the results of the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations, between 1927 and 1931, of the Bucheum, the burial-place of the sacred bull Buchis, and of the Baqaria, the cemetery of the mother of Buchis. Both sites lie on the east bank of the Nile, near the modern Armant, and not many miles to the north of the main Theban necropolis.

The discovery, due in the first instance to Sir Robert Mond and Mr. W. B. Emery, was of considerable importance both for the light thrown on the sacred cult of bull worship in Ancient Egypt and for the large number of stelae found inscribed in the hieroglyphic of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, including the latest hieroglyphic stela known, of the Emperor Diocletian.

As long ago as 1850, the excavations of the renowned Auguste Mariette Pasha brought to light at Saqqara the Sarapeum, the burial-place of the sacred bull Apis. Of Mnevis, the sacred bull of Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, little is known, though two of his tombs have been excavated. The worship of the Upper Egyptian Buchis, based on the bull cult of Menthu, is first recognizable in this new form about the middle of the fourth century B.C., and the earliest burial of a sacred Buchis bull in the Bucheum is dated in this period. Thence onwards the Bucheum was established as the cemetery for each successive Buchis bull until the reign of Diocletian, possibly later. The chronology of the Baqaria is less certain owing to the absence of inscribed stelae. One only, of the Emperor Commodus, was found. It seems, however, that the Baqaria was in use from about the time of Ptolemy III until Constantine the Great.

Both sites had been plundered more than once in ancient times and objects such as stelae had been moved about from one tomb to another. The accurate dating of the tombs must therefore have been a matter of some difficulty, while not all the objects and pottery found associated with a burial are necessarily of the same date. It seems unnecessary, therefore, in the drawings of pottery in tomb groups, to illustrate (pl. cxx) four Coptic amphorae under the heading 'Baqaria 4', a tomb assigned in the Tomb Register to the reign of Tiberius. In the same way, in the group 'Baqaria 17' (pl. cxxxiii), one of the amphorae illustrated is almost certainly Coptic while the tomb is assigned to the time of Augustus. Such amphorae, closely resembling those from the Monastery of Epiphanius (Winlock and Crum, pl. xxviii), can hardly be earlier than the sixth century A.D.

The terminal date of the Bucheum and the Baqaria is uncertain. In the absence of definite contradictory evidence, it seems more than likely that there were burials in both places later than Diocletian. Coins of the

House of Constantine indicating robberies towards the middle of the fourth century need not necessarily imply (i, 177) the beginning of 'the destruction of the pagan religions in Upper Egypt'. One doubts whether a determined tomb plunderer would be any more scrupulous about the tomb of the sacred bull than he would be about the tomb of the dead Pharaoh. At the time of the archimandrite Schenute paganism was still flourishing among the people in Upper Egypt. As late as the middle of the sixth century there was a pagan pagarch in Upper Egypt who attempted to re-open the Temple of Isis at Philae, closed by order of Justinian. It is, at any rate, very unlikely that the plunderers of the Bucheum and the Baqaria in the middle of the fourth century were Christians inspired by a desire to destroy the heathen gods. But the progress of Christianity at this time among the people of Upper Egypt, as distinct from the official class (themselves rather lukewarm adherents), is still a little-known subject.

But these are points of difference as to the interpretation rather than the presentation of the material. It should be said at once that no pains have been spared to make the presentation as full and detailed as possible. To this end the authors have enlisted the aid of thirty specialists, each of whom contributes a chapter or a section on his own field. The number of plates is lavish and their quality excellent. Photomicrographs of both metal objects and textiles are given, though one feels that these would serve a more useful purpose if they had been published in technical journals devoted to the study of the composition of such materials. Despite the authors' modest avowal that of the staff 'not one had drawn a pot before he came to Armant' (i, 83), the drawings of the pottery appear to be excellent, while the corpus of types is extremely full and detailed in the illustration of variations. While typology has been used extensively in most cases, an odd exception is the amulets and beads. The need for type numbers here is very noticeable in the Tomb Register at the end of vol. iii, where the letters Phi, Tau, or Delta (meaning photograph, text, or drawing) are the only indication of the presence of amulets in any given tomb.

In view of the elaborate nature of this publication, it may seem ungrateful to criticize. Nevertheless, the first two volumes are not easy to read. One reason may be the extremely complicated system of reference numbers and letters, not always consistently used. It is difficult to see, for instance, why some tombs in the Bucheum should be referred to on the plan by numbers, others in the same cemetery by letters. In the same way, the reference numbers to pottery drawings (such as, on pl. cxxxiii, Dyn. I—meaning dynastic type I—88 k 2, 88 x 10, etc.) are not always easy to understand, though these seem to have been arranged to correspond with the system used in the *International Corpus of Egyptian Pottery* which is apparently in process of compilation. A desire to conform with this publication may be the reason why, on pl. cxlix for instance, successive variations in an amphora type are referred to as Mi, O 5, R, and T.

There are one or two omissions, too, which are noticeable. In vol. i, chapter xi, some seventy fragments of glass are catalogued and described, but there is no indication where they were found. This information is

given, however, in the chapter describing the Baqaria Roman village. A less important detail is the omission of tomb numbers on the plates illustrating the hieroglyphic inscriptions (pls. xxxvii-xlvii).

Volume iii, devoted to the very important inscriptions and ostraca, is mainly the work of Mr. Fairman, while Dr. Mattha has dealt with the interesting collection of demotic ostraca. Mr. Fairman's translations and commentaries on these obscure texts have added greatly to our knowledge of this late phase of the hieroglyphic language while, in addition, this volume contains an illuminating essay on the origin and development of the Buchis cult.

Taken as a whole, these volumes form a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Egyptian religion and archaeology, and due credit should be given to the authors for such a detailed publication of all the material bearing on the excavations. One last word. What are the tombs assigned, in the Introduction (vol. i), to the Blemmyes and said to have been discovered in Lower Nubia? The few impoverished graves which are likely to be those of Blemmyes in Nubia can hardly be described as 'sensational'.

L. P. K.

*Schloss Hallwil.* By NILS LITHBERG. In 5 volumes.  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. 196 with 117 plates; 500 with 30 plates; 159 with 179 plates; 414 with 14 plates; 153 plates. Stockholm: Gunnar Tisell. 1924-32.

Schloss-Hallwil stands at the foot of the Hallwiler See, some five miles south of Lenzburg in Kanton Aargau, North Switzerland. In the early years of this century the castle was rescued from the dangerous condition of decay into which it had fallen by the enthusiasm and far-sighted activity of the present representatives of the Hallwil family, the records of whose unbroken tenure go back to the beginning of the twelfth century. This book is a memorial both of the labour which has preserved this fine specimen of medieval and renaissance domestic architecture, and of the genius of the late Professor Lithberg, who was responsible for the task of its excavation and preservation.

The book is planned on an enormous scale. Text and illustration are alike lavish, and one is confronted with the same generous disregard of expense as characterized the work of which this is the record. The first two volumes are devoted to the account of the work of restoration and of excavation. Volume iv covers the surviving buildings and the literary sources for the history of the castle, and volume v is divided between a minutely detailed architectural survey and an interesting collection of representations of the castle, ranging in date from 1540 to 1871. Volume iii and the latter part of volume ii are reserved for the objects recovered during the excavations.

Of most general interest are the opening sections of volume i, in which Professor Lithberg discusses the topographical and historical background of the castle. It was, by tradition, founded upon the site of a Roman building. This was proved to be false; nor does the archaeology of Kanton Aargau as a whole support such notions of continuity. There is, on the other hand, a marked similarity between the distribution of

dark-age settlements within that region, and that of the medieval *Burgen*, which date for the most part from the first quarter of the second millennium. Of the unbroken development in this case there can be no doubt. At Hallwil the evidence of pottery placed the first settlement at some unspecified date within the Carolingian period and before A.D. 1000. The earliest castle consisted of a mound of earth thrown up from a deep defensive moat in the marshes beside the Aabach. This mound in itself constituted the primitive *donjon*, and on it was built a structure of wood with walls of wattle and daub (vols. i, pp. 19-21, ii, pp. 71-99). In the early years of the eleventh century this wooden building was burnt and replaced by a square stone keep; and from this nucleus developed during succeeding centuries the whole complex structure of the castle. Upon this development comment would here be superfluous. Professor Lithberg has told the story with the greatest clarity; and he has given the reader frequent summaries of foregoing conclusions, a practice invaluable in a book of this size. It has throughout been prepared with an eye to method and is, despite its bulk, easy to use.

The medieval period is the Cinderella of practical archaeology. There are few sites which have been so scientifically and exhaustively excavated as this; and fewer still where circumstances have permitted so complete a publication of the results. It is therefore to volume iii that one turns with particular anticipation. There in excellent reproduction can be found some 4,000 from the vast number of objects of a domestic character which were discovered during the excavations. The majority were found in the deposits accumulated within the moat and are, in consequence, in an excellent state of preservation. They date mainly, though not exclusively, from A.D. 1400 to 1700. The filling of the moat consisted moreover of a succession of clearly differentiated deposits, and there was here all the material for an invaluable typological and chronological account of the development of the multitude of small domestic objects in daily use upon a single rich and continuously occupied site. It is therefore singularly unfortunate that this section falls far below the standards set by the rest of the book. In a work that is primarily one of record it should have been possible upon this scale to indicate the associations within which each type of object was found. For all the elaborate methodological paraphernalia employed, this cannot be done. By persistent search one can track down to the quadrant in which it was found any object illustrated. But this quadrant is a purely arbitrary reference unit; and the only concession to the complex stratigraphy revealed in vol. ii, figs. 2-11, is the likewise arbitrary subdivision of these units into rigid horizontal layers of 25 cm. depth. Nor is there any method of discovering the associations of other objects of a similar character which have not been individually illustrated.

It is perhaps asking too much of an excavation report that the reader should for himself be able to go into such detail, and it is only the extravagant scale of the book which leads one to demand it. One would have been more than content with the detailed conclusions of the only person in a position to understand fully the complexities of the site, the excavator. This task Dr. Lithberg specifically renounces (vol. ii, p. 201).

He is content in most cases with a brief introductory paragraph upon each class of object and a page or two of comment upon the more noteworthy individual specimens. There is much of value in these notes. But there is little attempt at dating particular types, and scarcely any at providing a working survey of the development as a whole. This was a ha'porth of tar that could ill be spared.

Of the quality of the discoveries the volume of plates (vol. iii, 2) will speak for itself. There is little military equipment but a wealth of domestic objects of every description, from cooking-pots to hooks and eyes. Specially attractive are the late-eighteenth-century lead soldiers (pl. 43). The pottery is very fully illustrated. It appears to contain a strongly conservative local element; external influences are from the Rhine rather than from Italy. This is less true of the glass, which is good and unusually well preserved. There is also a fine series of relief-tiles of late-medieval and renaissance date; the local thirteenth-century *S. Urbankeramik* is, however, rather surprisingly absent. In connexion with the finds are published a series of household inventories of the castle, dating from 1398 to 1561 (vol. iii, pp. 1-25), and there is an excellent bibliography.

It would be ungracious to close upon a note of criticism. Neither effort nor money has been spared to make this record complete, and the results have been in most cases singularly happy. The production is magnificent and the plates are as good as they are numerous. It is not a book for the shelf of every library; but there can be few who will not find in it something to their taste.

J. B. W. P.



## Periodical Literature

*Antiquity*, September 1936:—Origin and early diffusion of the traction-plough, by C. W. Bishop; Mapungubwe, by C. van Riet Lowe; Cambay and the bead trade, by A. J. Arkell; Domesday woodland in south-west England, by F. W. Morgan; The 'crooked field', by F. G. Roe; Evolution of the clinker-built fishing lugger, by J. Hornell; Defensive frontier dyke near Melrose; Air- and ground-photography; A votive offering to Odysseus; Archaeological photography; The story of the young rat; Early iron in Egypt; Sheep; The Inca bull-dog; The Soay sheep.

*Archaeologia*, vol. 85:—An English gold rosary of about 1500, by Sir Eric Maclagan and C. C. Oman; The roof bosses of Lincoln cathedral, by C. J. P. Cave; The excavation of the Giants' Hills long barrow, Skendleby, Lincolnshire, by C. W. Phillips; The use of continental woodcuts and prints by the 'Ripon school' of woodcarvers in the early sixteenth century, by Rev. J. S. Purvis; Dartmouth castle and other defences of Dartmouth haven, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil; Medieval figure sculpture in Winchester cathedral, by T. D. Atkinson; Some later funeral effigies in Westminster Abbey, by L. E. Tanner and J. L. Nevinson; Faience beads of the British Bronze Age, by H. C. Beck and J. F. S. Stone; The chambered cairn known as Bryn yr Hen Bobl near Plas Newydd, Anglesey, by W. J. Hemp; The Great Seal of England: depicted or departmental seals, by H. Jenkinson.

*The Archaeological Journal*, vol. 92, part 2:—Norman domestic architecture, by Margaret Wood; Tudor domestic wall-paintings, by F. W. Reader; Theophilus the penitent as represented in art, by A. C. Fryer; Prehistoric Britain in 1935, by Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes; Report of the Summer Meeting at Chichester.

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*The Burlington Magazine*, August 1936:—Persian drawings, by Armenag Sakisian; Rare woodcuts in the Ashmolean Museum, by Campbell Dodgson; Dürer's dream of 1525, by A. Rosenthal.

September 1936:—Augustin Hirschvogel and the Tyrolese owl-jugs, by W. B. Honey.



October 1936:—A signed Kashan Mina'i bowl, by A. U. Pope; Disguised Jacobite glasses, by G. R. Francis; Two gold cups, by Francis Nelme; An unknown English medieval orphrey.

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*The Connoisseur*, August 1936:—Miniature books for collectors, by J. E. Hodgson; Old English plate from the Russian Imperial collections, ii, by E. A. Jones; Portuguese influence in Japanese screens, from 1590 to 1614, by Capt. C. R. Boxer; The 'Bay of Naples' wall-paper, by E. Dudley; The Morris dancers of Erasmus Grasser, by Capt. C. L. Robert; Three old London theatres, by Capt. A. V. Sutherland-Graeme; John Keyse Sherwin, engraver, by W. S. Mitford.

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C. F. Bühler; Some contemporary accounts of Renaissance printing methods, by D. C. Allen; *King Lear*, mislineation and stenography, by W. W. Greg; Three unrecorded English books of the sixteenth century, by F. C. Francis; A list of printed catalogues of Greek manuscripts in Italy, by J. E. Powell; Variants in the 1746 edition of Thomson's *Seasons*, by J. E. Wells; A presentation copy of Coleridge's *Sibylline Leaves*, by N. van Patten.

*Man*, October 1936:—Discovery of skulls with surgical holing at Tell Duweir, Palestine, by J. L. Starkey; Three skulls from Palestine showing two types of primitive surgical holing, by T. Wilson Parry.

*The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 22, no. 4:—British corvettes in 1875: the *Bacchante* class, by Admiral G. A. Ballard; The hospital ship, 1608–1740, by J. J. S. Shaw; The Lord High Admiral's council, by G. F. James; Egyptian shipping of about 1500 B.C., by C. V. Solver; The avenger of Nelson, by D. B. Smith.

*Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 5th ser., vol. 9, part 7:—Pedigrees and heraldic notes from the collections of Gregory King; John Gifford of Bowers Gifford; Pedigree of Hopkins; Farrer of Ewood, Hoddesdon, and Croxton; Grant of arms to Gray of London, 1635; Herefordshire pedigrees; Extracts from parish register of Great Harrowden; William Heroun, knight, Lord Say; Administrations of the Archdeacons of Northampton.

*The Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th ser., vol. 16, part 3:—British Museum acquisitions for the years 1933–4, by E. S. G. Robinson; The Hayle hoard of radiate minimi, by C. H. V. Sutherland; New light on Thomas Simon, by Miss Helen Farquhar; A hoard of Constantinian coins from Langwith, York, by Miss A. S. Robinson; A find from Shepwick, Somerset, by Miss A. S. Robinson; Coins from Bridport, Dorset, by Miss A. S. Robinson; A Roman hoard from Eynsham, Oxon., by C. H. V. Sutherland; On dies in north-west Greece, by J. G. Milne; A Theodosian coin hoard from Norfolk, by R. Clarke; A new hoard of siliquae from Icklingham, by J. W. E. Pearce; Roman site-finds from Cirencester, by J. W. E. Pearce.

*Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, July 1936:—Jericho, Ai and the occupation of Mount Ephraim, by W. J. Phythian-Adams; Late chalcolithic pottery from 'Affuleh, by E. L. Sukenik; A note on an inscribed potsherd, by W. E. Staples; Note on a fragment of an Israelite stele found at Samaria, by E. L. Sukenik; Some aspects of the pictorial influence of the Jewish temple, by Helen Rosenau; The ruins of Jericho, by A. Rowe and J. Garstang.

October 1936:—Excavations at Tell Duweir, 1935–6, by J. L. Starkey; The Hittites in Palestine, i, by E. O. Forrer; The Percy Sladen expedition to Lake Huleh, 1935, by R. Washbourn; Ostrakon C 1101 of Samaria, by W. F. Albright; Discoveries at Ajja Hafia, by D. Colt; Selected pottery from Beth Shan (Roman date), by H. Comfort and F. O. Waagé; A visit to the mat makers of Huleh, by Theodore Larsson.

*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, new series, vol. 2, part 1:—The

timber monument at Arminghall and its affinities, by Grahame Clark; The Pleistocene succession in the lower part of the Thames Valley, by W. B. R. King and K. P. Oakley; The excavation of long barrow 163 a on Thickthorn Down, Dorset, by C. D. Drew and S. Piggott; Field archaeology of the Royston district, by O. G. S. Crawford; The megalithic monuments of Wales, by W. F. Grimes; Early palaeoliths from the summit of the South Downs; A pottery spoon from the Mendips; British coins from north Lincolnshire; A dug-out boat from the Lea Valley; Early navigation in north-western Europe.

*Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Records Society*, vol. 18:—The Civil War papers of Sir Will. Boteler, 1642–55, by G. H. Fowler; The Ship Money papers of Hen. Chester and Sir Will. Boteler, 1637–9, by F. G. and Margaret Emmison; Notes on the family of Coke, of Newbury, co. Beds., by Rev. Sir H. L. L. Denny.

*The Bradford Antiquary*, August 1936:—The settlement of Ryecroft in Tong, by W. Robertshaw; The Bradford mail during 300 years, by A. E. Trent; Early history of the manor of Eccleshill, by W. E. Preston; The Bainbridge–Ilkley Roman road, by F. Villy; Rents of the Honor of Pontefract.

*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 57:—Gloucestershire in the Pipe Rolls, by F. B. Welch; Saxon Gloucestershire, by L. E. W. O. Fullbrook-Leggatt; Original documents relating to Bristol, by Rev. F. W. Potto Hicks; St. James, Bristol, Fair leases, by Rev. F. W. Potto Hicks; The Roman palindrome found at Cirencester, by E. C. Sewell; The Brays of Great Barrington, by Rev. A. L. Browne; An eighteenth-century clock at the Council House, Bristol, with notes on clock and watchmakers in Bristol, by H. E. Nott and C. R. Hudleston; Kempsford by Rev. A. B. Mynors; Roman finds in Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, by Helen E. Donovan, with notes on the coins by B. H. St. J. O'Neil; A Roman oven at Bourton-on-the-Water, by Helen E. Donovan; Notes on the stained glass in the Lord Mayor's chapel, Bristol, by B. Rackham; The Cirencester election of 1695; Roman villa, Witcombe; Mural painting, Oddington; The Fosse Way; Roman pavement, Gloucester.

*Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. 13, part 3:—An early coroner's roll for Buckinghamshire, by J. G. Jenkins; A seventeenth-century painting in Hedgerley church, by C. Rouse; Wills of Buckinghamshire clergy in the sixteenth century, by Rev. A. L. Browne; Note on a seventeenth-century coffer belonging to Loughton church, by C. Rouse; Amersham in the time of William and Mary; Monument to Katherine Radcliffe in Chalfont St. Giles's church; Fragment of woodwork recently found in Oakley church; Stone adze from Wendover; Medieval sword found at Saunderton; Brass found at Pitstone church.

*Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vol. 36:—The sheriffs of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in the reign of Richard II, by A. Steel; The Domesday geography of Cambridgeshire, by H. C. Darby; The hospitals of St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene at Ely, by L. Cobbett and W. M. Palmer; Further excavations in the Early Iron

Age and Romano-British cemetery at Guilden Morden, by T. C. Lethbridge; Excavations at Burwell castle, Cambridgeshire, by T. C. Lethbridge; Two Bronze Age barrows at Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, by C. S. Leaf; Alterations at Queens' College, Cambridge, by G. C. Drinkwater; Archaeological Notes, by T. C. Lethbridge and M. O'Reilly.

*The Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2 :—Some recent advance in English Constitutional History (before 1485), by G. Lapsley; The case of St. William of York, by Dom D. Knowles; The Jews in fifteenth-century Florence and Savonarola's establishment of a *Mons Pietatis*, by F. R. Salter.

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*The Essex Review*, October 1936 :—Thirteenth-century wall-paintings in Fairstead church; Little Baddow in the sixteenth century, by Rev. J. Berridge; A Dutch cottage at Finchingfield, by A. Hills; Essex in 1797, by G. O. Rickword; Strange petition by a Colchester prisoner to the earl of Oxford; Cymbeline and his coins; Tudor newel staircase at Maldon Moot Hall, by A. L. Clarke; Colchester scribe's drawings of the year 1336; Harlow in the middle ages, by Rev. J. L. Fisher; The book of the foundation of Walden abbey, by H. Collar; A counterpart to the Evesham psalter: the green cross raguly in early English embroidery; Essex inscriptions in Suffolk churchyards, by C. Partridge.

*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 20, no. 2 :—Two biblical papyri in the John Rylands Library, by C. H. Roberts; Desiderius Erasmus, by H. Guppy; William Tindall, by H. Guppy; Further letters of the Johnson circle, by J. L. Clifford; Aspects of Sumerian civilization during the third dynasty of Ur, 5: Literature, by T. Fish; The historic city in Western and Central Europe, by H. J. Fleure; Some notes on Occam as a political thinker, by E. F. Jacob; Notes and extracts from the Semitic MSS. in the John Rylands Library, by E. Robertson; A note on Rolls Series 8 (Elmham, *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini*), by F. Taylor; A noteworthy Sahidic variant in a Shenoute homily in the John Rylands Library, by Rev. D. P. Buckle.

*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne*, 4th ser., vol. 7, no. 6 :—The fools of Lorbottle and their cousins, by E. L. Guilford; Three Greek coins from Coventina's well, by G. Askew; An English inscribed brooch of the fourteenth century, by J. D. Cowen; Monumental inscriptions in the church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle.

Vol. 7, no. 7 :—Medal of the Northumbrian Small Pipes Society, by G. Askew; A sculptured stone found at Fenham, by P. Brown; A Bronze Age burial cist found near Denton Burn, by T. Wake; Seventeenth-century door-head in Hexham, by J. V. Harrison; Cathedral church of St. Nicholas: monumental inscriptions in the nave, by H. H. E. Craster and T. Wake.

*Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 6, no. 3 :—The Custumal of Winchelsea, by W. M. Homan; Sussex entries in London parish registers, by W. H.

Challen; The manor of Radmeld-Beverington, by Rev. W. Budgen; Gideon Mantell and his journal; List of appropriation of seats in Lindfield church, 1637-1639, by G. F. Scott; Newtimber; Seal found near Shulbrede priory, by Lord Ponsonby; Lewes priory and West Walton, Norfolk; Sussex church plans, xxxvii, St. Lawrence, Lurgashall; Sussex Wills in the Record Office and British Museum, by W. H. Godfrey; Skeleton discovered at Hoe Court in the grounds of Lancing College, March, 1936, by C. M. Kraag.

*Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, new ser., vol. 12:—Joyce Jeffreys of Ham Castle: appendix, by Rev. R. G. Griffiths; The Hobys of Evesham and of Bisham, Berks., by E. A. B. Barnard; Two eighteenth-century travellers in Worcestershire, i, by H. B. Walters; Old painted glass in Worcestershire, ii, by Mary A. Green; Some old Worcestershire churches and parochial chapels, by E. A. B. Barnard; The arms of Birmingham, by S. C. Kaines Smith; Medieval tiles discovered in Worcester, July 1935; Old Bransford bridge; An inscription on old Stanford bridge.

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*Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1933-34-35:—Grand Juries, Justices of the Peace, and Quarter Sessions in Wales, by the late Judge Ivor Bowen; Ancient Welsh Music, by A. Dolmetsch.

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Vol. 6, no. 1:—The *Θάνατος* inscription from Herod's Temple: fragment of a second copy, by J. H. Iliffe; Sigillata wares in the Near East: a list of potters' stamps, by J. H. Iliffe; A rock-cut tomb-chamber at 'Ain Yabrūd, by S. A. S. Husseini; Byzantine remains in Palestine, ii: a small monastery and chapel outside the 'Third Wall', by D. C. Baramki.



*American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 40, no. 3:—A Greek stèle and an early terra cotta in the Metropolitan Museum, by Gisela M. A. Richter; Recent acquisitions of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by L. D. Caskey; The date of the inscription of Claudius on the arch of Ticinum, by M. Stuart; The site of Sodom and Gomorrah, by F. G. Clapp; A Graeco-Phoenician scarab from Byblos, by D. F. Brown; A Dionysiac personification in Comedy and Art, by G. W. Elderkin; News items from Athens and Rome.

*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 76, no. 4:—Pre-historic man in Palestine, by G. G. MacCurdy.

*The Art Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 1:—The Helyas legend as represented on the Embriachi ivories at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, by Mary Alice Wyman; Lucas Cranach the elder, by W. L. M. Burke.

Vol. 18, no. 2:—The Cyniscus of Polyclitus, by D. M. Robinson; A copy of the Athena Parthenos, by Dorothy K. Hill; A late Reichenau Evangelary in the Walters Gallery library, by Dorothy Miner; The reliquary of Saint Amandus, by M. C. Ross; A group of Gothic ivories in the Walters Art Gallery, by C. R. Morey; A pair of seventeenth-century Brescian pistols, by S. V. Grancsay.

*Old-Time New England*, vol. 27, no. 2:—An historical prospect of Harvard College, 1636–1936, by C. E. Walton; Cheese-making in South County, Rhode Island, by A. E. Lowndes; The Coffin house in the early nineteenth century; The Rhodes school, by P. E. Farnum.

*Speculum*, vol. 11, no. 3:—Florence in the time of Dante, by G. Salverhini; Two passages in Dante's *Paradiso*, by A. K. Coomaraswamy; Men and the land in the Middle Ages, by G. C. Homans; A discovery in *John de Mandevilles*, by K. W. Cameron; Latin sources of Brunetto Latini's *World History*, by F. J. Carmody; Alchemical writings in Vatican Palatine and other continental manuscripts, by L. Thorndike; The press-mark of *Vienna 2133*, by L. W. Jones; Giovanni da Sanminiato and Coluccio Salutati, by T. F. Rich.

*Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, Jahrgang 23, Heft 1:—The gold coinage of the Eastern Celts, by K. Pink; Finds in Middle La Tène settlements at Salzburg, by M. Hell; La Tène finds in Lower Austria, by R. Pittioni; Prehistoric discoveries in northern Tyrol in 1935, by O. Menghin; Remains of a double naveta at Porto Christo, Mallorca, by K. Graff.

*Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, vol. 101, part 1:—Four documents dealing with the troubles at Liège in 1482 and 1488, by E. Poucelet; Documents concerning Pantinus, dean of St Gudule, Brussels, 1592–1611.

*Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des lettres*, ser. 5, tome 22, parts 6–9:—The History of the Pauliciens, by H. Grégoire; Herbarius, researches on the ceremonial used by the ancients for the gathering of simples and magical herbs, by A. Delatte; The etymology of Napoleon, by H. Grégoire; The Chancellor Gattinara and the Mediterranean policy of Charles V, by H. Vander Linden.

*Bulletin des Musées royaux, Bruxelles*, 3rd ser., vol. 8, no. 2:—A

Bruges tapestry of 1664, by M. Crick-Kuntziger ; Damask table linen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by M. Calberg.

Vol. 8, no. 3:—Ultra-violet rays, their nature and application to Museum technique, by P. Coremans : Damask table linen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, i, by M. Calberg ; Louvain faience, by H. Nicaise.

Vol. 8, no. 4:—Damask table linen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ii, by M. Calberg ; New Mesopotamian antiquities, by L. Speleers.

*Acta Archaeologia*, vol. 7, part 1:—Finds of the earliest Bronze Age in Norway are discussed by Anathon Björn in German, with a sketch-map and nine illustrations: further light on the period is sought from habitation-sites (*Wohnplatzkultur*). German warfare and equipment are discussed in German by P. G. Hamberg in relation to sculptures on Roman triumphal arches, and many illustrations and references are provided. H. Larsen has an English article on baking in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom, with a plan and illustrations; and J. Werner writes in German on the Byzantine circular brooch at Paris, and Teutonic parallels, including the Kingston brooch: one from Comacchio has the three loops for chains and pendants at the top, instead of below the enamelled bust. Typical Hungarian antiquities are described in German from the artistic point of view by A. Hekler; and an English article on the wall of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol is contributed by J. Prip-Møller.

*Suomen Museo*, no. 42:—The Elk-horn spoon from Kittilä, by E. Kivikoski; The geological dating of the Kittilä spoon find, by E. Hyypä; The dating of the Heinola sledge-runners, by L. Aario; The church on Pyhämaan island, by A. W. Rancken; Bibliography of Finnish archaeology, by E. Kivikoski.

*Finskt Museum*, no. 42:—A combined inhumation and cremation burial of the Roman Iron Age in Vörå, by J. Tegengren; A Finnish Bridgettine embroidery, by A. Geijer; Wall-paintings in the old church at Sibbo, by A. W. Rancken; Landscape sketches by Carl Peter Hällström, by M. Hirn; Some native silversmith's work, by A. Appelgren; The fork plough, by K. Vilkona.

*L'Anthropologie*, tome 46, nos. 3-4 (juillet, 1936):—The first part of a report on Fort-Harrouard by the Abbé Philippe appears with photographs, plans and sections. This fortified plateau in Eure-et-Loir was first occupied in the neolithic period, and houses of the Bronze Age have been carefully excavated. Antler picks and a harpoon are figured from Ngandong in Java, and M. Peyrony has a note on scalene flints of La Madeleine type, also some assegai-heads of antler appearing with the Saiga antelope. There is an editorial review of Schwantes's *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, of which the first volume has appeared; and M. Stékélis's memoir on the megalithic monuments of Palestine is also noticed at some length. The Editor devotes nearly five pages to E. Mackay's *The Indus Civilization*, and papers on palaeoliths in the Sahara are brought together on p. 415: there is also a discussion of the value of patina and rolling as indicating date or sequence in flint industries (p. 497).



*Revue Archéologique*, avril-juin 1936:—Excavations in western Asia in 1934-5, by G. Coutenau; The Trojan horse, by P. M. Schuhl; Irish manuscripts from St. Gall and Reichenau, by G. L. Micheli; The fountain of Saint Denis, by J. Adhémar; The Greek and Latin inscriptions from Sardis, by L. Robert; The bibliography and library of Salomon Reinach.

*Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1935:—Statuette of an hermaphrodite found at the source of the Seine, by H. Corot; Discoveries at Gergovia and Lezoux, by R. Lantier; Three portraits of Guillaume de Montmorency, by L. Dimier; The Gallo-Roman town of Bibe, by Canon Favret; Lyon faience of about 1560, by P. Verlet; Steel 'vianeis' in the Chanson de Roland, by A. Blanchet; Romanesque architecture in Burgundy and the influence of Cluny, by F. Deshoulières; Building periods at Cluny, by M. Aubert; An Egyptian sphinx found at Mishrifé-Qatna, Syria, by Comte du Mesnil du Buisson; A mosaic at St. Martin d'Ainay, Lyon, by F. Deshoulières; The attributes of St. Jean de Réôme, abbot of Moustier, by A. Vittenet; A Latin inscription from Morsane, by J. Toutain; Excavations at St. Rémy, Provence, by J. Formigé; The Christ of St. Pantaléon les Autun, by J. Hubert; Inscription at Timgad with the name of Tenagino Probus, by E. Albertini; The pre-Romanesque church of Ferrière-en-Gâtinais, by Canon Chenesseau; Ribbed Gothic vaults, by J. Formigé; A head of Dionysus found at Malabata, by L. Chatelain; The God of the Trees, by J. Toutain; Inscriptions from Fréjus, by E. Albertini; An English alabaster carving at Pringy, by J. Hubert; An altar table at St. Martial, Limoges, by J. Hubert; Gallo-Roman horse-shoes, by G. Matherat.

*Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*, tome 33, no. 6 (juin 1936). Obituary notices of Dr. Henri-Martin are accompanied by a portrait of that distinguished archaeologist, who died 9 June 1936 at the age of 72. References to stone implements found in the Congo basin are given by Dr. Regnault, their chronology being now studied in Belgium; and M. Dutertre has a comprehensive article on the neolithic 'floors' with microliths on the dunes of Pas-de-Calais, with map and plentiful illustrations. One 'microlith' is nearly 3 in. long, and arrow-heads of various types occur. M. Daniel contributes a note on the Mas d'Azil industry of Périgord; and M. Darpeix writes on recent excavations at Tabaterie and Sandouagne, Dordogne, the industries represented being apparently Le Moustier and Aurignac.

Nos. 7, 8 (juillet-août 1936). Dr. Stephen-Chauvet maintains that palaeolithic hand-axes (coups-de-poing) were not used in the bare hand but hafted. M. Hue writes on finds at Luc-sur-mer, Calvados, including a female skull of neolithic date. A hoard of Gaulish coins at St. Brelade, Jersey, is described by M. Burdo, and polished flint chisels discussed by M. Chenet. Commandant Octobon deals with long dagger-like blades of the latest neolithic, and M. Jean de la Roche compares the Levallois technique of Algeria with that of Egypt.

No. 9 (septembre 1936). There is a brief account of the Prehistoric Congress of France at Toulouse and Foix in September, also a notice of

the early palaeolithic deposit of Moulin-Blanc (Faurille, Dordogne), with pit-sections and implements. M. Poncelet inquires whether fossil animals have any living representatives, and M. Ferrier describes the Sauveterre industry in Gironde, with three pages of drawings. A note on caves of La Madeleine date in the upper Allier (Haute-Loire) is contributed by M. P. de Brun; and M. Delage publishes two grotesque human heads in bronze found in the neighbourhood of Limoges and assigned to the period of La Tène: comparison might be made with those from Welwyn, Herts. (B.M. *Early Iron Age Guide*, pl. xi).

*Les Monuments historiques de la France*, vol. 1, fasc. 4:—Restoration of the domes of the abbey church of Souillac, by M. Poutaraud; The successive alterations of the Palais Royal, 1628–1936, by A. Ventre; The baptistry of St. Jean at Poitiers, by P. Verdier; The restoration of the loggia of the royal lodge at Loches, by A. Bray.

*Hespéris*, tome 23, fasc. 1:—Spanish documents concerning the siege of Arzila in 1508, by T. Garcia Figueras; The shoe-makers of Fez, by R. Guyot, R. Le Tourneau, and L. Paye; Recent publications concerning the history of the Portuguese in Morocco, by R. Ricard; The Periplus of Hanno, by G. Marcy; Sancho de Trujillo, bishop of Morocco, by R. Ricard.

*Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie*, fasc. 296:—English martyrs at Calais, 1537–40, by Abbé Gerrebout; The arms of the Hobacq family, by M. Le Roy; The origin of free secondary teaching in the diocese of Arras, by Canon Lehembre; Playhouses at Saint Omer at the beginning of the 18th century; Restoration work at the Hôtel de Ville, Saint Omer, by J. de Pas; The methods of appointment of the provosts of Montreuil, by J. de Pas.

*Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de Nantes et de la Loire-Inférieure*, vol. 75:—Nantes in the past, by G. Halgan; A parochial captain in the wars of the Chouannerie, by Marquis de Goué; The battle of Nazareth, by Colonel Balagny; Police and suspects at the time of the Restoration, by D. Barthélemy; The origin of the second family of Machecoul, by G. Vailhen; The forest of Le Gâvre, by H. Sorin; The tombs of the bishops in Nantes cathedral, by Abbé Russon; Ermengarde, countess of Brittany, by Abbé Bourdeaut; History of a statue of Louis XIV, by A. Gergaud.

*Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*, 1936, no. 1:—The appointment of a village schoolmaster in the eighteenth century, by P. Rudet; Gallo-Roman graves found in the rue Delpech, Amiens, by V. Douchet; Summary of the chartulary of Selincourt, by J. Estienne.

*Germania*, Jahrgang 20, Heft 3:—A palaeolithic implement from Burgtonna, Thuringia, by V. Toepfer; A neolithic arrow-head with transverse edge from Salzburg, by M. Hell; A Peschiera type dagger from Lower Saxony, by E. Sprockhoff; An early La Tène tumulus at Höfen, Franconia, by A. Stuhlfauth; The earthwork at Bensberg, a late La Tène age Germanic fortress, by W. Buttler; The excavations at Xanten in the winter of 1934–5, by H. Stoll; A new Mithra relief from Sinitowo, Bulgaria, by C. M. Danoff; The Migration period chief's grave

at Altusheim, by F. Garscha; Carolingian pottery from eastern Bavaria, by P. Reinecke.

*Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 139:—The credibility of Tacitus and his views on the Nerthus cult and the German name, by E. Bickel; The credibility of Tacitus, by H. Naumann; Irminsûl in Widukind of Corvey, by R. Meisner; The 'Toutoni' stone at Miltenberg, by U. Kahrstedt; Severus shield reliefs, by R. Delbrueck; The Roman legionary hospital at Vetera and other legionary camps, by R. Schultze; The age of the Roman wall at Köln, by F. Fremersdorf; The economic importance of the Roman farm buildings at Köln-Müngersdorf, by H. Schmitz; Motto stamps on Terra Sigillata, by A. Oxé; Archaeological researches in the Wetzlar district, by W. Bader; Pits and pit-dwellings in south-east Europe, by W. Buttler; Rhenish pillar monuments, by H. Kähler; The Ursula legend, by W. Levisen; Discoveries in graves in the east quire of Bonn cathedral in 1698, by W. Classen; 'Death boards' in the Rhineland, by F. Mai.

Heft 140/141, Teil 1,.—Written sources for the art history of the Merovingian period, by E. Knögel.

*Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, Band 26, Hefte 1-2. The psychology of prehistoric art is discussed without illustrations by Rolf Niederhaus, who depends mainly on history for a solution of the problem. An important hoard of bronze vessels and implements from Moigrad in Roumania is described by Ion Nestor, their period ranging from 1100 to 800 B.C. Fr. Holste gives illustrations of the later Urnfield culture in the Eastern Alps; and Helmut Arntz discusses the runes inscribed on a tile from Kloster Lehnin, Brandenburg. New evidence as to prehistoric and proto-historic looms is provided by Karl Brandt, with photographs of excavated sites and loom-weights, also a short bibliography. Exceptionally large stone implements of various types from Silesia are figured by L. F. Zotz, and connected with the Aurignac quartzite culture of Otaslawitz in Moravia. A coastal settlement of the early megalithic period near Cuxhaven, described by Karl Waller, has yielded ornamental pottery and a number of small round scrapers associated with microliths, both fishing and agricultural implements being included.

*Notizie degli Scavi*, 6th ser., vol. 11, fasc. 7-9:—Pre-Roman burials at Este and elsewhere, by A. Callegari. Remains of a Roman villa with mosaics and sculpture (A.D. first-second century) at Massarosa not far from the well-known ruins of Roman Baths at Massaciuccolo (near Viareggio), by D. Levi. Near Chiusi a 'tomba a ziro' with large amount of funeral pottery, by the same. G. L. Giglioli describes two pots from Civita Castellana with archaic Faliscan inscriptions, only partially interpreted. Cesano di Roma, discovery of the foundations of a Christian chapel (fragment of a thirteenth-century Cosmati pavement), in which was a group of re-used Roman sarcophagi, one of them being sculptured with a very complete and interesting version of the story of Semele and Endymion (now in the National Museum, Rome), by R. Vighi. In Rome, near the Via Aventina, L. Morpurgo describes the remains of an important house with black and white mosaics of the end of the Republic, the

statue of a Roman matron, and the head (deliberately mutilated) of a lady of the middle of the second century A.D. Naples: Inventory and description by G. Pesce (fully illustrated) of figured vases, etc., from some eighty tombs discovered in 1914 behind Castelcapuano, covering a period from the fifth century B.C. to the first century A.D. Most of the vases of Attic style belong to the second half of the fifth century, and suggest Athenian influence in Naples; those of the succeeding period betray Campano-Samnite influence. Sicily: Report by G. Cultrera of the excavations on the site of the temple of Eryx, 1930-1. The temple (and the church which took its place) have entirely disappeared, except for some re-used architectural fragments; but its platform can be traced, and shows that its dimensions were not large.

*Rendiconti della R. Accademia Naz. dei Lincei*, 6th ser., vol. 11, fasc. 7-10:—Two votive reliefs illustrating the cult of the Nymphs in Sicily, by P. E. Arias. The influence of the 'Celtica' of Posidonius on later ethnographical writers, by M. Truscelli.

*Roemische Mitteilungen*, vol. 51, pts. 1 & 2:—The symbolism of the globe, by O. Brendel, who explains the subject of the well-known mosaics in the Naples Museum and the Villa Albani, Rome, representing a company of seven philosophers, as Thales, the leader of the Seven Sages, expounding to them his cosmological principles, illustrated by the globe to which he is pointing; and finds a resemblance of the head in the mosaics to probable portrait-herms of Thales at Ny-Carlsberg and in the Terme Museum, Rome. Other forms of the symbolism are also discussed, especially in connexion with birth and the Fates. G. Lippold on representations of Herakliskos. A. Schober produces a new arrangement of the remains of the monument erected at Pergamum by Attalus I for his victory over the Gauls: the (Ludovisi) Gaul stabbing himself and his wife was the centre of a circle of dying Gauls, four of whom are known. The Niobids in the Terme Museum, Rome, by W. Kraiker. Passages in Vitruvius relating to the foundations of buildings, by E. Jüngst and P. Thielscher.

*Clara Rhodos*, vol. 8:—Excavations in the cemeteries of Taliso in 1934, by J. Laurenzi; Pelike with the battle of the Amazons from the Antiquarium at Cos, by P. E. Arias; A votive tablet of the crew of a Rhodian ship, by M. Segre; The conventual church of St. John of the Knights at Rhodes, by P. Lojaconda: The Grand Master's palace at Rhodes, by P. Lojaconda.

*Bidrag till Södermanlands äldre Kulturhistoria*, vol. 29:—The old village of Åker, by E. Engel; Coin finds of the Viking period in Södermanland, by U. S. Linder; Some runic stones, by K. K. Leijonhufvud.

*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm*, no. 7:—The goldsmith in Ancient China, by J. G. Andersson; Anyang moulds, by O. Karlbeck; Anyang marble sculptures, by O. Karlbeck; Low-lan wood carvings and small finds discovered by Sven Hedin, by F. Bergman; Sven Hedin's archaeological collections from Khoban, by G. Montell.

No. 8:—Yin and Chow in Chinese bronzes, by B. Karlgren; On the script of the Chow dynasty, by B. Karlgren.

*Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, vol. 10 :—The late Ilmari Manninen, by A. M. Tallgren, with a bibliography by A. Hirsjärvi ; The methods of prehistoric archaeology, by A. M. Tallgren ; Latvian prehistory, by E. Šturms ; An unknown Scythian find in Novoherkassk, by A. Salmony ; Oriental glass vessels in Scandinavia, by G. Ekholm ; Old oriental antiquities in Scandinavian collections, by S. Przeworski ; Archaeological studies in Soviet Russia, by A. M. Tallgren ; Problems concerning the Central-Russian Gorodische civilization, by A. M. Tallgren ; The beginnings and development of inlay technique, by A. Rieth ; The history of archaeological research in Finland, by A. M. Tallgren.

*Fornvännen*, 1936, häfte 3. Boulders or earth-fast rocks grooved by friction have been explained in the past by the grinding of stone celts and other implements. They are most common in Gotland and are now held to be not earlier than the Iron Age, perhaps due to the reshaping of whet-stones worn out by the scythe, an experiment carried out by Torsten Mårtensson. A silver fish in Tynderö church, N. Sweden, probably a votive offering to ensure a good catch, is described by O. Källström, who assigns it to the eighteenth century. Burial customs in the earliest Iron Age of Gotland are discussed by Mårten Stenberger, one boat-shaped cist containing a humped pin of iron. Of the period fourteen were unburnt burials and only two cremated. Other finds are Viking articles from Sigtuna and a Roman wine-ladle from south-west Gotland, stamped CANNIMAIVS.

Häfte 4. No less than twenty bells cast by Busse Jakobsson have been identified by Mats Åmark, who gives biographical details of the medieval founder, who seems to have learnt his trade in the Netherlands and worked in Stockholm from 1520. The architectural history of St. James's church at Stockholm is given by Jord Nordberg ; and the funeral rites of the Habitation-site people illustrated by Arvid Serner, the period being that following the retreat of the Inland ice : other early burials in Scandinavia are quoted.

*Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zürich, Jahresbericht*, 1935 :—The Halwil Sword, by E. A. Gessler ; A cannon with arms of the Grisons of 1533, by E. A. Gessler ; East Swiss faience, by K. Frei ; Grosshans Thomann of Zürich, glazier, glass-painter, and painter, 1527-67, by H. Lehmann.

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- \*A cemetery at Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire. Report of the excavations of a cemetery of the Christian Anglo-Saxon period in 1933. Compiled and illustrated by T. C. Lethbridge, F.S.A.  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. viii + 41. Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Quarterly Publications, New series, no. 5. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1936. 5s.

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Thursday, 22nd October 1936. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Sir Leonard Woolley read a paper on Excavations near Antioch (p. 1).

Thursday, 29th October 1936. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. G. H. S. Bushnell was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins read a paper on Sculpture in Visigothic France.

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